

JUVENILE DETENTION IN  
THE UNITED STATES

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# JUVENILE DETENTION IN THE UNITED STATES

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THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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By  
FLORENCE MARY WARNER

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

All who are interested in the juvenile-court movement recognize the need of detention facilities for children entirely separate from those for adults. In most states legislation<sup>1</sup> prohibits the detention in jail of children under specified ages, and in several states placing children within the jail inclosure is absolutely forbidden. However, since the juvenile court and the administration of detention are local responsibilities in the great majority of our states, it is not surprising that there is a wide variation in the kind of care given to the detained children in communities even within the same state.

Assembling of information concerning the detention of children proved to be a difficult task. Trained investigators who were also experienced social workers were sent into selected areas, but in many instances because of the inadequacy of the records great difficulty was experienced in securing satisfactory data. Detention methods included, besides the public detention homes, the use of public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children; private shelters; private orphanages and homes; boarding-homes; jails and police stations; hospitals and sanatoriums; and almshouses.

In few areas was only one method of detention found, and in some places four or five different methods were in use, the method depending upon whether the child was taken in charge by the police or by a probation officer, upon the social workers available, the age, sex, and race of the child, or the reason for detention. The same type of case might also receive different treatment by another worker or even at another time by the same worker. That is, in most of the communities studied, there is no well-defined policy regarding detention which is accepted both by the child welfare workers and the officers of the peace.

The attitude with regard to the necessity for detention varies from one community to another. In one city practically all delin-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, "Laws Governing Detention of Children."

quent children are detained, while in another only certain types of delinquencies are considered serious enough to make detention a wise or necessary policy. In most communities the juvenile court is much more likely to release children to their homes pending court hearing than are the police. In more than one-half of the areas some children were released on bond.

The policy of dealing with dependent or neglected children also varies from area to area. In many communities few dependent and neglected children are taken to the court, and the children are dealt with by the state board of children's guardians, the child welfare department, or some other public or private agency. In these communities few dependent children were found in the detention homes.

The officials who arrange for the placement of children, pending decision as to treatment, pursue various policies. In some areas the police make preliminary investigations and on the basis of this information, secured largely from the child, they release him or transfer him to the juvenile court. In many cases the probation officer never receives a report of such police investigation. On the other hand, some communities have a system of preliminary hearings by a magistrate. These officials either release the child or transfer him to the juvenile court. However, it was found that in certain instances fines had been paid and the child released in spite of the fact that the juvenile court had exclusive original jurisdiction under the statute.

That agencies detaining children make no provision for adequate records was clearly shown in this study. Accurate data concerning detention are not available at the present time in most of the states. Probably the most difficult agencies to deal with are the jails and police stations. Many officials are ashamed of the poor arrangements made for handling these children. Handicapped by the lack of proper facilities in the community, the officers of the law make the best provision they can under the circumstances. Since they know that they are holding children in jail illegally, they have a tendency to neglect making adequate records.

But other agencies than the jail were found holding children in temporary custody and keeping records that did not show the facts. Institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children; agen-

cies making foster-home placements; and hospitals whose chief concern is with other types of children—all often fail to record the fact that certain children were detained for the court. These children are usually taken only as a favor, and oftentimes at a real sacrifice of modern principles of child care. Children temporarily placed, pending court hearing, are frequently disturbing to the morale of an institution organized for children committed by the court for discipline and treatment.

The police in a majority of cases have the first contact with children who have committed an act that is considered delinquent by the local community. The volume of juvenile-court work is determined to a large extent by the policy of the police department. It is also affected by the policy of the court in receiving children, by the equipment of the schools and social agencies for dealing with children who are in their care, and by the degree of co-operation developed among all of these agencies. In those communities where the police assume responsibility for many delinquent children and fail to co-operate with the probation office and the juvenile court, the court is used mainly to deal with the serious cases that have defied police methods of treatment. In those communities where the police take the children immediately to the probation office or the detention home, the judge of the juvenile court and the probation department determine whether a child shall or shall not be detained or whether there shall be a formal court hearing or informal handling of the case. An attempt has been made in this report to show the part played both by the court and by the police in the treatment of the child. It is important to know how the child is managed by the police, how long he is held, and under what conditions; about the organization of the court, the frequency of hearings, the personnel of the court, and the relation of the court to the detention authorities.

In the following chapters the eight different methods of detention will be described, showing the extent of the service available, the average length of detention, the efficiency of the program and services, the cost of maintenance, and the personnel of the detention agency. The study brought to light some inefficient, poorly selected, and underpaid employees and showed the unenlightened and some-

times cruel methods of discipline and inadequate programs in many of the agencies detaining children. But some outstanding examples were found of detention homes which were well administered even though in some cases the physical equipment was inadequate and poorly planned.

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Detention in 141 areas, including 38 states and the District of Columbia, was studied by the field investigators in order to determine the nature of the problem, the extent of detention, and the methods used. In selecting these areas, the largest city in the state was always included, and communities that presented special methods of detention, different problems, or unique or particularly effective detention units were also selected for study. Several areas were visited with the hope that they might be included, but the lack of records made their inclusion impossible. Some rural counties were studied, since their problem is different from that of the metropolitan areas with more resources for treatment and generally better-trained personnel in the juvenile court and the children's agencies. In some of these rural counties where there are no probation officers, the children are handled by the sheriff and the only place of detention is the county jail.

General information regarding detention in the community was gathered by visits to detention homes and to other institutions where children are held, including jails and police stations; by interviews with those in charge of such institutions; by consultation with judges, probation officers, other court officials, and representatives of social agencies; and by recourse to such reports or printed data as were available. In 93 of the areas studied, 17,045 schedules of individual children in detention were obtained by the field agent representing various methods of detention. Two hundred consecutive admissions of children to different places of detention in these 93 areas for 1929 were analyzed, and when there were fewer than 200 annual admissions, the whole year's intake was used.

This sample, of course, represents a varying percentage of cases depending upon the intake of the agencies or institutions of detention. In large cities, as in Chicago, the sample represents less than 3 per cent of the admissions to the detention home for the year, while



the 42 schedules for Portage County, Ohio, represent the total number for the year. Because of the time required to fill out these schedules, it was necessary to select a group of typical areas for this phase of the study. Thus schedules of individual children were secured from only two of the five shelters of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in New York City. There is no reason to believe that enlarging the number to include schedules from the other shelters would in any way affect the conclusions. Typical periods of time had to be chosen for study in the areas where there were more than 200 admissions during the year; for example, it was necessary to avoid quarantine periods, as children sometimes have to be held a long time on this account. While the expression "schedules of individual children" is used, it would be more correct to say "schedules of individual admissions," as in many cases one child would be admitted two or more times during the period studied, and each separate admission was scheduled.<sup>1</sup>

#### RECORDS

The various schedules were filled out from the records in the juvenile court, the detention home, the city and county jails, and from officials of various public and private agencies. Complete and satisfactory information could not be secured in every locality, because the records were woefully inadequate and in some cases nonexistent. In a few communities even the juvenile court docket was not up to date.

The records in the public detention homes were found by the investigators to be for the most part very unsatisfactory. They were insufficient even for the elementary statistical data desirable for the detention home or the court itself. Annual juvenile court or probation reports with data regarding detention were rarely encountered. In two counties the records were so inadequate and undependable that it was not possible to get even the number of admissions for the year. In gathering information for the individual schedules it was frequently necessary to resort to the case records in the juvenile court, and here also it was often evident that exact information

<sup>1</sup> The results of this part of the field study are tabulated and discussed in chaps. xi-xiv.

could not be obtained. It was not always clear from either the detention-home data or the case record why a child was detained, nor were such other important facts as time of the final disposition, nature of this disposition, and number of previous detention periods for the individual child always obtainable.

In few of the detention homes was it possible to get even an approximate estimate of the *per diem* cost per child for detention. In fact, some of the superintendents have little knowledge of the budget and go ahead blindly on expenditures, the county purchasing agent and the auditor handling all of the accounting.

It was similarly difficult to get exact data from other institutions besides the public detention homes. Records of public and private children's agencies frequently are no more accurate and uniform than those in the public detention home. Furthermore, the records in these institutions are not usually so kept as to differentiate the detained children from the others.

Records in jails and police stations were found to be particularly unsatisfactory. Children are entered regularly on the police blotter in 68 of the areas, and in 22 this does not occur. In the other communities some children are docketed and others are not. The investigator sometimes encountered an interesting point of view which affected the records. To save him the stigma of a jail record open to public inspection, a child may not be docketed, even though he is there for several days. In some cases the ages are not entered, or the classifications are such that it is impossible to pick out the children of juvenile-court age. This is easily explainable in cases where a child under the specified age limit is illegally detained in jail.

#### INTERPRETATION OF STATISTICS

All children admitted to the public detention homes and all children docketed at the jail were considered as detained children. Some of these children should not be considered detained children, but it was impossible from the records to determine in most cases just when the period of detention ended and the period of commitment began. Many children were held in detention homes for correctional purposes or pending admission to other institutions. Some children were kept in jail because they could not pay their fines or because the

court sentenced them for short periods of time. For the purposes of this study, only those children who were detained for the court or probation officers in public or private orphanages or institutions, private shelters, boarding-homes, hospitals, or almshouses were considered detained children. The areas included in this survey have a total population of 46,190,331 according to the 1930 census. The number of children of juvenile-court age cannot be given exactly, as the census figures are not so grouped. However, the total number of children aged five to nineteen, inclusive, is, for the same year, 12,111,304.

Numerical comparisons between areas cannot be safely made for several reasons. Variable factors entering into the statistical picture include differences in age limit of juvenile jurisdiction and in exclusiveness of jurisdiction. For example, it might appear that certain areas have, as compared with others, a disproportionate number of children held in jails. But if in one area the age limit of original juvenile-court jurisdiction is eighteen, and in another it is sixteen, it is evident that any numerical comparison is valid only if additional information is at hand concerning the number of children from sixteen to eighteen who are held in jail in the second area. Another important factor is the multiplicity of methods of detention, the various combinations of methods, and the differing emphasis in their use. In only 16 of the 141 areas does it appear that only one method of detention was in use at the time of the survey. Thus the area tables, for instance, simply record the number of children detained in the community during the year in the types of detention agencies from which reports were secured.

Another factor to be considered is the local detention policy, including police practice, which in turn may be determined partly by other community resources and partly by case-work standards. The use of the detention home for dependency cases depends quite largely on the efforts and facilities offered by other agencies. Even the number of empty beds in the detention home has a determining influence on the volume of detention, as has also the distance from the place of apprehension to the court or the detention home, the use of the institution by agencies other than the court and its use for children



outside of the particular court jurisdiction. Incompleteness of the data obtainable is another variant making comparisons hazardous.

#### ADMISSIONS IN 141 AREAS

In each locality the investigators attempted to obtain from the court the number of children remaining in their own homes pending hearing. It was found that few of the courts were able to give this information. The United States Children's Bureau, however, through its system of registration of individual cases, obtained information concerning the place of care, pending court hearing, for cases disposed of by 93 courts during 1929. Their report showed that in that year 58 per cent of the delinquent boys, 50 per cent of the delinquent girls, and 62 per cent of the dependent and neglected children were cared for in their own homes pending court hearing.<sup>2</sup>

In the tables where data are given by areas, the alphabetical order of states is followed for convenience. Generally, the unit area is the county, but occasionally it is the city and infrequently a district in a city. Since the names of counties are not familiarly recognized in most states, the name of the principal city is given for identification. In the event that the county is not the unit of detention, the name of the unit is given. In the case of Hartford, Connecticut, for example, the city is the unit, so the designation is "City of Hartford." In New Hampshire the entire state is the unit, Manchester being named as the principal city and the seat of the state industrial school. When the area is smaller than a city, the designation of the district is given. Thus eight distinct judicial districts in Boston are designated by name.

The fiscal year varies from place to place and from agency to agency, but so far as possible the fiscal year's admissions for 1929-30 were taken. Some localities can hardly be said to distinguish a "fiscal" year in detention practice, so the calendar year was necessarily followed. Since some children were admitted several times in the course of the year, the number of children, which was generally not obtainable, would be smaller than the number of admissions.

<sup>2</sup> *Juvenile Court Statistics* (1929), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 207, pp. 9 and 23.

## CHAPTER III

### GENERAL FINDINGS

The scope of the inquiry is shown in Table I, which presents the list of areas studied, together with the number of different methods or agencies of detention available for the children in these communities.

The total number of admissions of children of juvenile-court age for the 141 areas in the fiscal year 1929-30, according to information furnished by the various detention agencies, was 118,772, but in only 70 of the 141 areas were the returns complete. The large number of children detained away from their homes in one year raises the question whether there should not be some means of preventing so much detention which may be harmful to the children and at the same time of curtailing unnecessary expenditure by the community. This is especially pertinent when it is realized that more than one-half of these children were returned to their homes within a few days.

#### PLACES OF DETENTION

The different types of detention in the 141 areas included in this survey may be classified into eight categories:

1. Public detention homes, in general use in the larger centers of population
2. Private shelters of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Humane Society, used for detention principally in New York State
3. Private orphanages and homes for special types of children, sectarian institutions, the Houses of the Good Shepherd, and the Florence Crittenton homes
4. Public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children
5. Hospitals and sanatoriums
6. Almshouses and infirmaries
7. Jails and police stations
8. Boarding-homes

The number of admissions of detained children in the 8 different types of detention, classified by the age of original juvenile-court jurisdiction, is presented in Table II (see p. 16).

# GENERAL FINDINGS

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TABLE I

DETENTION AGENCIES AND ADMISSIONS OF CHILDREN OF JUVENILE-COURT  
AGE IN 141 SPECIFIED AREAS DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1929-30

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION AGENCY	REPORTED ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN	NUMBER OF DETEN- TION AGENCIES	
		Reporting	Not Reporting
Total.....	118,772	311	112
<i>Alabama:</i>			
Jefferson (Birmingham).....	752	2	3
Mobile (Mobile).....	362	2	0
Montgomery (Montgomery).....	505	4	0
<i>Arkansas:</i>			
Garland (Hot Springs).....	N.r.	0	4
Pulaski (Little Rock).....	605	1	2
<i>California:</i>			
Alameda (Oakland).....	1,516	1	2
Los Angeles (Los Angeles).....	4,853	1	3
San Francisco (San Francisco).....	1,889	1	1
<i>Colorado:</i>			
Denver (Denver).....	1,176	2	2
<i>Connecticut:</i>			
City of Hartford*.....	386	2	0
New Haven (New Haven).....	686	2	2
Stamford Town (Stamford).....	77	3	1
City of Waterbury*.....	299	1	0
Windham Town (Willimantic).....	3	1	1
<i>Delaware:</i>			
New Castle (Wilmington).....	599	1	2
<i>District of Columbia:</i>			
Washington.....	1,402	1	1
<i>Florida:</i>			
Dade (Miami).....	291	1	1
Duval (Jacksonville).....	1,181	2	0
<i>Georgia:</i>			
Chatham (Savannah).....	152	3	1
Fulton (Atlanta).....	1,184	4	0
Muscogee (Columbus).....	397	2	0
<i>Illinois:</i>			
Christian (Taylorville).....	23	1	1
Cook (Chicago).....	8,775	1	3
Fayette (Vandalia).....	N.r.	0	1
Franklin (Benton).....	43	3	2

\* Detention agency serves city only.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE I—Continued

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION AGENCY	REPORTED ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN	NUMBER OF DETEN- TION AGENCIES	
		Reporting	Not Reporting
<i>Illinois:—Continued</i>			
Jackson (Murphysboro).....	32	1	1
Montgomery (Hillsboro).....	7	2	1
Perry (Pinckneyville).....	2	1	2
Sangamon (Springfield).....	126	5	0
Will (Joliet).....	N.r.	0	2
Williamson (Marion).....	38	3	0
<i>Indiana:</i>			
Allen (Fort Wayne).....	130	2	2
Lake (Gary).....	659	2	1
Marion (Indianapolis).....	933	1	1
St. Joseph (South Bend).....	N.r.	0	2
Vanderburg (Evansville).....	375	1	0
<i>Iowa:</i>			
Polk (Des Moines).....	694	5	0
Woodbury (Sioux City).....	247	2	0
<i>Kansas:</i>			
Sedgwick (Wichita).....	N.r.	0	2
<i>Kentucky:</i>			
Jefferson (Louisville).....	1,776	3	0
<i>Louisiana:</i>			
Caddo Parish (Shreveport).....	318	2	2
Calcasieu Parish (Lake Charles).....	N.r.	0	1
East Baton Rouge Parish (Baton Rouge).....	N.r.	0	2
Orleans Parish (New Orleans).....	669	3	1
<i>Maryland:</i>			
Allegheny (Cumberland).....	100	2	0
City of Baltimore*.....	106	3	1
Frederick (Frederick).....	24	5	0
City of Hagerstown*.....	21	2	0
<i>Massachusetts:</i>			
Boston (Juvenile Court District).....	131	3	2
Boston (Brighton District).....	18	3	0
Boston (Charlestown District).....	18	3	2
Boston (Dorchester District).....	18	2	1
Boston (East Boston District).....	16	3	0
Boston (Roxbury District).....	88	3	0
Boston (South Boston District).....	8	2	1
Boston (West Roxbury District).....	27	4	0
Springfield (Springfield).....	71	3	0
Worcester (Worcester).....	108	3	1

\* Detention agency serves city only.

## GENERAL FINDINGS

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TABLE I—Continued

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION AGENCY	REPORTED ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN	NUMBER OF DETEN- TION AGENCIES	
		Reporting	Not Reporting
<i>Michigan:</i>			
Genesee (Flint).....	780	1	0
Kent (Grand Rapids).....	671	1	0
Oakland (Pontiac).....	636	2	0
Wayne (Detroit).....	7,482	1	3
<i>Minnesota:</i>			
Hennepin (Minneapolis).....	2,030	3	0
Ramsey (St. Paul).....	699	3	0
<i>Missouri:</i>			
Jackson (Kansas City).....	812	2	0
<i>Nebraska:</i>			
Douglas (Omaha).....	561	3	3
Lancaster (Lincoln).....	227	2	0
<i>New Hampshire (Entire State):</i>			
Manchester (State Industrial School).....	12	1	3
<i>New Jersey:</i>			
Atlantic (Atlantic City).....	995	3	0
Camden (Camden).....	1,065	4	1
Essex (Newark).....	1,424	5	0
Hudson (Jersey City).....	1,136	4	0
Morris (Morristown).....	24	3	0
<i>New York:</i>			
Albany (Albany).....	276	1	0
Broome (Binghamton).....	122	1	0
Columbia (Hudson).....	69	4	1
Cortland (Cortland).....	N.r.	0	4
Erie (Buffalo).....	815	4	0
Monroe (Rochester).....	1,176	1	0
Nassau (Mineola).....	420	1	0
Oneida (Utica).....	289	1	0
Onondaga (Syracuse).....	879	1	0
Schenectady (Schenectady).....	318	1	0
Warren (Queensbury).....	37	2	1
Westchester (Yonkers).....	841	4	0
New York City (Bronx).....	1,851	1	1
New York City (Brooklyn).....	5,250	3	0
New York City (Manhattan).....	6,207	2	0
New York City (Queens).....	1,438	1	1
New York City (Richmond).....	429	2	0
<i>North Carolina:</i>			
Buncombe (Asheville).....	105	5	0
Durham (Durham).....	87	2	1

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE I—*Continued*

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION AGENCY	REPORTED ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN	NUMBER OF DETEN- TION AGENCIES	
		Reporting	Not Reporting
<i>North Carolina:—Continued</i>			
Forsythe (Winston-Salem).....	169	2	1
Mecklenburg (Charlotte).....	86	1	2
Wake (Raleigh).....	174	3	1
<i>North Dakota:</i>			
Cass (Fargo).....	120	2	1
<i>Ohio:</i>			
Cuyahoga (Cleveland).....	3,897	2	0
Franklin (Columbus).....	2,370	2	0
Hamilton (Cincinnati).....	1,772	3	0
Lucas (Toledo).....	1,351	3	0
Mahoning (Youngstown).....	1,218	4	0
Montgomery (Dayton).....	1,043	2	0
Portage (Ravenna).....	42	1	0
Summit (Akron).....	N.R.	0	3
<i>Oklahoma:</i>			
Oklahoma (Oklahoma City).....	500	1	0
Tulsa (Tulsa).....	227	1	2
<i>Oregon:</i>			
Multnomah (Portland).....	1,643	3	2
<i>Pennsylvania:</i>			
Allegheny (Pittsburgh).....	3,123	1	1
Berks (Reading).....	57	3	1
Lackawanna (Scranton).....	812	2	1
Luzerne (Wilkes-Barre).....	750	5	0
Philadelphia (Philadelphia).....	8,874	5	0
<i>South Carolina:</i>			
Charleston (Charleston).....	286	2	1
City of Columbia*.....	314	1	1
Greenville (Greenville).....	N.R.	0	1
Spartanburg (Spartanburg).....	129	2	0
<i>South Dakota:</i>			
Minnehaha (Sioux Falls).....	42	3	0
<i>Tennessee:</i>			
Hamilton (Chattanooga).....	268	4	0
Knox (Knoxville).....	23	2	2
City of Memphis*.....	1,574	3	3
<i>Texas:</i>			
Dallas (Dallas).....	714	5	0
Galveston (Galveston).....	N.R.	0	1

\* Detention agency serves city only.

TABLE I—*Continued*

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION AGENCY	REPORTED ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN	NUMBER OF DETEN- TION AGENCIES	
		Reporting	Not Reporting
<i>Texas:—Continued</i>			
Harris (Houston).....	571	3	1
Tarrant (Fort Worth).....	760	4	0
<i>Utah:</i>			
Salt Lake (Salt Lake City).....	867	4	0
<i>Virginia:</i>			
City of Lynchburg*.....	114	4	0
City of Newport News*.....	148	1	0
City of Norfolk*.....	556	4	1
City of Richmond*.....	2,147	3	0
Cities of Roanoke and Salem*.....	921	2	1
<i>Washington:</i>			
King (Seattle).....	1,914	2	0
Pierce (Tacoma).....	390	5	1
Spokane (Spokane).....	741	2	1
<i>West Virginia:</i>			
Cabell (Huntington).....	455	2	0
Kanawha (Charleston).....	598	3	0
Marion (Fairmount).....	300	4	1
Ohio (Wheeling).....	246	4	0
Wood (Parkersburg).....	65	1	1
<i>Wisconsin:</i>			
Dane (Madison).....	25	1	1
Milwaukee (Milwaukee).....	2,714	1	0
Racine (Racine).....	464	2	0

\* Detention agency serves city only.

A total of 77,809 children were admitted to 61 of the 63 public detention homes during the fiscal year 1929-30. In 78 of the 141 areas, there were no public detention homes, and consequently some other method of detention had to be provided. In only 5 areas was the public detention home the only method of detention.

Of the 52 private shelters, 41 reported 18,659 children detained. The 11 not reporting were generally small shelters handling but few children.

The 16,493 children reported in the jails and police stations in 85 of the areas were by no means all of the children subjected to this



method of detention in the communities included in this survey. It is known that children were held in lockups in smaller communities, and that in 34 areas the only information that could be elicited was that there were "a few," "some boys," "a good many," or some other

TABLE II\*

NUMBER OF CHILDREN REPORTED DETAINED BY VARIOUS METHODS IN  
THE FISCAL YEAR 1929-30, CLASSIFIED BY AGE OF ORIGINAL  
JUVENILE-COURT JURISDICTION

TYPES OF DETENTION	DETAINED CHILDREN					
	Jurisdictional Classifications					
	Total	Boys to 16 Girls to 16	Boys to 17 Girls to 17	Boys to 16 Girls to 18	Boys to 17 Girls to 18	Boys to 18 Girls to 18
Total.....	118,772	44,218	16,331	3,354	14,181	40,688
Public detention homes.....	77,809	19,520	13,972	2,424	11,800	30,093
Private shelters ....	18,659	17,678	113	.....	49	819
Private orphanages and homes.....	2,586	2,006	270	7	29	274
Public children's in- stitutions.....	964	382	336	.....	157	89
Hospitals and sana- toriums.....	78	45	.....	20	8	5
Almshouses and in- firmaries.....	354	215	20	11	2	106
Jails and police sta- tions†.....	16,493	3,414	1,242	874	2,024	8,939
Boarding-homes....	1,829	953	378	18	112	363

\* Population reports not obtainable from:

2 of the 63 areas using public detention homes

11 of the 52 areas using private shelters

18 of the 57 areas using private orphanages and homes

10 of the 29 areas using public children's institutions

6 of the 17 areas using hospitals and sanatoriums

3 of the 12 areas using almshouses and infirmaries

34 of the 119 areas using jails and police stations

18 of the 64 areas using boarding-homes

† Four areas lack numbers in city jail; 5 areas lack numbers in county jail; 10 areas lack numbers in city police stations.

indefinite estimate. In only 22 of the areas would it appear that there were no children of juvenile-court age detained in jails or police stations in 1929-30.

Boarding-homes cared for only 1,839 children for the court in 46 of the 64 areas reporting this type of detention. In only 5 areas were there more than 100 children detained in boarding-homes.



## CHAPTER IV

### COURTS AND POLICE HANDLING CHILDREN'S CASES

Detention is one of the processes in the treatment of children by the juvenile court, and consequently the organization of the court, particularly court procedure and the probation department, must be clearly understood. The relationship of the police to the court determines to a large extent the selection of cases for the court. The frequency of court hearings, the number of probation officers and their education and professional training, the use of qualified referees, and the attitude of the judge have a definite bearing on the extent and type of detention in the individual community, the length of detention, and the disposition at the time of release.

#### JUDGES

A judge who is selected for a regularly constituted juvenile court, or a domestic relations court with juvenile jurisdiction, will be able to give to children's needs more expert and understanding consideration than a judge whose time is primarily occupied by his duties in a criminal or probate court. Not only is the factor of time involved, but personal aptitude and liking for children's cases are also considerations. A profound understanding of children's cases involves real preparation and study on the part of the judge. In fact, legal knowledge which is of primary importance in other judicial work becomes a secondary factor in juvenile cases where emphasis is upon social attitudes, understanding of child psychology, and of community resources for treatment. A strongly legalistic point of view may even be a handicap to the judge of a juvenile court. When judges rotate in the juvenile work and no judge has exclusive responsibility for children's cases, difficulties multiply and the needs of the children only too often receive only superficial attention.

## COURTS SERVED BY THE JUDGE HEARING JUVENILE CASES

In very few places does the judge give his entire time to the juvenile court. The varied responsibilities of judges in hearing juvenile cases in the areas included in the survey may be summarized as shown in Table III.

In the areas in which children's cases are heard by judges who also function in other courts, it was found that their primary interest lay more frequently in other directions, such as the criminal or probate work, rather than in the children's court.

TABLE III

	Areas
Juvenile cases only.....	17
Juvenile cases and private law practice.....	8
Juvenile cases and Wayward Minor's Court....	1
Court of domestic relations.....	22
County court, with a division for juvenile cases..	20
District court, with a division for juvenile cases..	18
Various other courts, with a division for juvenile cases.....	55
Total.....	141

## MAGISTRATES, SQUIRES, AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

In several states magistrates or justices of the peace may hold preliminary hearings in children's cases. They have power to detain a child in the detention home or in jail, or they may release him with or without bail. In many places children's cases are heard by squires or justices of the peace, and no one knows how many children are held in lockups in the smaller communities. In one county of slightly more than 300,000 population, there are approximately 100 magistrates who handle children's cases for a preliminary hearing. No official register of magistrates in the county, outside of the city, was available to the investigator, who was told by the juvenile-court judge that he thought that "all of these magistrates can read." In this county arrests are not reported and fines are sometimes exacted from a child's parents to forestall detention.

## REFEREES

Juvenile-court referees were found in 40 of the areas studied. Frequently the chief probation officer functions as referee, and in some places employees on the detention-home staff have authority to hear certain types of cases and to make specified dispositions. Sometimes the referee is a practicing attorney interested in juvenile work. Referees frequently allow children to go home between the preliminary hearing and the formal court hearing. The decision of the referee is usually tentative, being subject to approval by the judge. In one city the judge hears very few children's cases, most of them coming before the referee for decision.

TABLE IV

	Areas
One day a week.....	36
One day a week and on call.....	11
Two days a week.....	16
Two days a week and on call.....	4
Three days a week.....	8
Three days a week and on call.....	1
Two or three days a week.....	2
Four days a week.....	5
Two times in a month.....	1
Daily hearings.....	22
On call.....	27
No record.....	8
Total.....	141

## FREQUENCY OF COURT HEARINGS

The frequency of court hearings has a direct bearing on the length of detention. In some jurisdictions the juvenile docket is made up at a specified time, and children whose cases are not listed must wait a week to have their names entered. In other jurisdictions the system of remand makes detention long, for there is ordinarily at least a week between the preliminary hearing and the formal court hearing. In smaller communities the judge who hears juvenile cases will often hear them whenever the need arises. The frequency of hearings for juvenile cases in the areas studied is given in Table IV.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

## THE PROBATION DEPARTMENT

The probation department is a necessary and valuable part of the court. A competent probation staff will set high standards for the court and by making satisfactory investigations and wise recommendations will assist the judge materially in handling difficult problems. A tactful, resourceful chief probation officer can influence a judge who lacks social vision and raise the morale of the entire staff, promote co-operation between the police and the court, and support the standards of competent agencies handling juvenile cases.

A competent probation staff under good supervision considers detention in its relation to case-work technique. This means no child will be held unnecessarily, and detention for the convenience of the probation officer or other social worker is eliminated entirely. When detention is necessary, the period of time is reduced to a minimum, every effort being made in the individual case to speed up the social investigation, to expedite medical and psychological examinations during detention, and to co-operate with other agencies, such as the police or children's societies, in plans which will shorten the detention period. If every court were adequately staffed with well-trained probation officers, this ideal would be attainable. But overworked officers who are not trained to use what social resources are available easily fall into the habit of dropping children into the detention home, and leaving them there until they dispose of matters apparently more pressing.

In the 141 areas studied, there are 942 full-time paid probation officers and 37 part-time paid workers giving their attention to juvenile cases. In five areas there are no probation officers at all. It was difficult to determine the number of juvenile probation officers in some cases because of the overlapping of adult and juvenile work and the undifferentiated function of workers in some courts. The chief probation officer frequently has supervision of both adult and juvenile officers.

Good probation work has a stimulating effect on the detention-home staff. Many institution employees have had little or no training in child care, and association with competent officers doing good case work develops appreciation of the needs of the children tem-

porarily committed to them. Unfortunately, in some places there is very little contact between the staff of the court and that of the detention home, no interchange of information, no visits to the institution by the probation officer, and consequently very little co-operation.

#### DETENTION POLICY OF THE COURT

In 121 of the 141 areas studied it was reported that the policy of the court is to leave children in their own homes pending hearing or disposition, "whenever possible," but in 7 of these localities the reported policy is not the practice. In 16 areas the reverse is true, as it is the general practice to detain all delinquent children. In 4 areas there seems to be no formulated policy. It is difficult to interpret such a subjective phrase as "whenever possible." A similar situation in 2 localities, both claiming this policy, might result in entirely different handling of the detention problem. In some places there is probably exaggerated anxiety regarding a child's appearance in court, and consequently overemphasis on the need for security of detention. There is in most cases not much likelihood that parents will fail to produce a child in court on a specified day, and if this does happen, the necessary measures to prevent its recurrence are simple and available to any court. This use of detention can in many localities be greatly reduced.

In determining whether a particular child should be released or detained many factors are to be considered. Runaways, older children, federal offenders, and delinquents whose offenses are serious are most likely to be held. Children apprehended at night are also held as a general rule, and material witnesses are detained in many places, frequently without adequate justification. The distance of the detention home from the place of apprehension sometimes is a factor in the decision. Officials in 49 areas expressed unwillingness to hold children, particularly girls and small boys, because of the unsatisfactory character of the local provisions.

Detention is also affected by social factors. Children from families of known good standing, in which the parents have money enough to pay the bills for damage done, are not likely to be held. An investigator was told about four boys who broke into a house in process of



construction, damaging it to the extent of more than two thousand dollars. In this city it is the rule that all children apprehended by the police are taken to the detention home, but in the case of these boys this was not done, nor were they even brought into the juvenile court. The police took them to their parents and private arrangements were made for payment of the damage. Children from poorer neighborhoods in this same city are detained when their offenses involve only a few dollars of property damage.

Court policy in regard to dependency and neglect cases varies according to the resources of the community. Sometimes, as in the Boston Juvenile Court, the private or public children's agencies have the entire case-work responsibility for dependent and neglected children, the court functioning simply in legal decision and disposition. Detention in such circumstances rests on agencies other than the court. When responsibility for investigation and supervision of dependency cases is in the hands of the court, the public detention home is extensively used, but this does not preclude use of other institutions, public or private, for special cases. A policy agreement or a tacit understanding between the court and these other agencies frequently permits them to enter children in the detention home or to secure their release without recourse to court order.

*Release on bond.*—The practice of releasing children on bond is common in some communities. These may be cash or recognizance bonds given by the parent or, in some instances, by the child. In many states provision is made for such bonds in the statutes. Sometimes the judge discourages their use on the assumption that the child should be released if it seems to be for his best interest, or detained if advisable, and that there is consequently no necessity for a bond. If he is released only because a bond is posted, it means that a child may be at liberty who should be kept in custody. On the other hand, a child may be held simply because his parents lack the money for a bond. The practice of bonding children savors of criminal procedure. While the law may provide for the use of bonds nevertheless in 61 of the areas studied they are never used. In 16 jurisdictions they are used extensively, but recognizance bonds are accepted. In other communities bonds may be used occasionally, in most instances for serious offenders.

## DETENTION AND THE POLICE

Detention from the police angle is also to be considered in studying the practices of the different areas. When the police find a child who is delinquent the immediate disposition depends on the particular officer at the time of apprehension, the nature of the offense, and the existing co-operation between the police and the court. The officer may give the child a good talking to and send him home; he may take the child direct to the juvenile court if apprehension occurs during office hours (this is the rule in 21 communities); he may take the child to the police station (in 19 areas this is always done); or he may never take the child to the station at all, as is the case in 9 communities. In 15 areas, only the children who were wanted for questioning or who were very serious offenders were taken to the station. In all other areas the circumstances of the particular case determine the immediate disposition.

*Notification of public authorities.*—Arrests were said to be reported to the juvenile court or probation office in 110 areas, to the clerk of the court in 9, to the prosecutor in 4, to the chief juvenile police officer in 7, and in 2 instances no one was notified. However, while notification of some central authority was the general rule, the police handle many cases without informing the juvenile court or anyone else. The court does not usually check with the police to see that this does not occur. In several instances the probation officer or the judge assured the investigator that children were always sent directly to the detention home and that they were never kept in the police station or the jail. When the investigator talked with the police she was also assured that children were not held in the jail, but when the records were searched it was found that some children were being so held. They were in some instances handled by the police or by other courts without the knowledge of the juvenile court. In 9 cities a probation officer calls at the jail daily to interview all young persons held, and to transfer those who are of juvenile-court age. In 10 areas the law requires prompt notification of the probation officer, or the production of the child in court within twenty-four hours after apprehension. It appears that these rules are observed by the police. In 6 cities there is a police-probation or

juvenile police system that uses its own discretion in handling apprehended children.

Sometimes the police are more concerned about the children in jails and lockups than the court staff. It is surprising to find judges and probation officers who are indifferent to the psychological effect of jail experience on the child. Some even express approval of the salutary results to be expected from such treatment. When such an attitude on the part of the court is revealed, we may say that the use of the jail is a part of the acknowledged detention policy rather than an emergency measure necessitated by lack of adequate facilities.

*Use of the police wagon.*—A visitor to the detention home may see the police patrol wagon draw up to the door, and a small boy emerge, convoyed by an officer or two. The use of the police wagon is obviously bad social practice in children's cases. Some boys gain unwholesome prestige with their companions because of their fast and exciting ride through the city streets in the police patrol, with the gong clanging and traffic pulling aside to let them pass. Other children react differently and are frightened and humiliated by the experience. In 39 of the areas visited the police wagon is used for the children either regularly or occasionally; in other areas it may be used on occasion as in rounding up a little gang, but it is not generally the practice; in 49 an unmarked car is used, although it may be driven by an officer in uniform; and in only 32 of the places visited was the patrol wagon never used.

*Environment of the child during police detention.*—The conditions under which the child is held while plans are made for his disposition are, of course, very important. He is usually taken to the police station, the jail, the sheriff's office, or to the probation office. The question arises as to the protection of the child at the police station or the jail. In 50 of the areas visited by the investigators, children are held in the office, a practice that may or may not be desirable depending upon the privacy afforded. The waiting-room is used in 4 communities—a very bad practice, for the child hears and sees everything that occurs.

In 11 areas most of the children are kept with the women, chiefly prostitutes and very bad companions for children. In 9 communities, the unfortunate policy of placing the children in cells has been



adopted; and in 10 other areas certain types of children are kept in cells. In some cases boys are put in the same cells with adult male offenders. Children are frequently put in the last of an open tier of cells, where they can hear everything that goes on in the cell block. The guard or signal-room is used in 7 communities for many children. For certain types of children the influence will be bad, for it is a more or less exciting experience to spend several hours at the center where all of the police calls are taken.

In 13 areas, all of the children are kept in separate rooms, and in 4 others some of the children are cared for in this manner. This method is open to some question since the children are likely to be unsupervised, and consequently minor offenders and lost children may be contaminated by older, more serious offenders.

The detective bureau is used in 6 communities for all children and for some children in 6 others. The assumption is that most of these children are held for questioning. In a few of the communities it was the opinion that some of the children were quite severely dealt with at the bureau, and that some of the methods of questioning were perilously near to the "third degree" type.

*Length of time at the police station.*—Fairly definite information as to the lapse of time before children are delivered to the place of detention was obtainable in 75 areas, but here again the practice is not always identical with the policy. In 49 communities the policy is to keep the children a short time, usually not more than an hour or two; in 2, the child is taken away immediately on booking; in 6 localities he is held until morning, and in another until his parents come; in 8, children are usually held for several hours; and in 9 it was reported that no children were taken to the police station. In other areas the practice varies. Some children are held a short time, others several hours. No matter how short the time, however, it is too long for any child to be kept in a police station. The child should be taken directly to the detention home where competent persons should determine his disposition.

*Record of the child at the police station.*—Children are entered on the blotter at the police station or jail in 68 of the areas, and in 22 this did not occur. In the other communities some are docketed and others are not. The practice should be discouraged and there should

be a children's register which is not open to inspection by the general public.

*The court-police relationship.*—The relation between the police and the court has sometimes occasioned considerable difficulty. Police officers are usually anxious to "keep the kids out of mischief," but frequently they do not understand the principles governing juvenile-court procedure or the social attitude on which it is based. Consequently they attempt to handle children themselves instead of turning them over to the court. While there are undoubtedly localities in which police handling of juvenile cases is more sympathetic and intelligent than that of the particular court, still this type of police jurisdiction is wrong in principle. The field of the police and the field of the juvenile court should be clearly defined, each to each, in working out any plan of co-operation. It is the function of the juvenile court to make the social investigation and to determine whether or not a child should be detained pending court disposition. This, of course, does not mean that the police should not exercise discretion with regard to the delinquent children in their territory. Not all children need to be taken into custody, for sometimes a warning by the police or other simple measure is sufficient.<sup>1</sup> Some policemen become big brothers to the children on their beat and their influence does help to keep the boys out of trouble. This social attitude should be fostered, but when a child becomes delinquent he needs the treatment of the juvenile court in helping him solve his problems.

A sergeant of the police in one city handled in one year over sixteen hundred boys' cases. He never co-operated with any social agency or with the juvenile court. After he became exasperated with a boy, having had him ten or twelve times, he reported him to the juvenile court, always with an insistent demand that the boy be committed to the industrial school. In this city there is a well-planned detention home which holds and releases boys upon the sergeant's orders.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the place where the responsibility of the police should end and that of the court should begin, see *Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Court Standards* (1923), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 97, pp. 44-54; *Juvenile Court Standards: Report of the Committee Appointed by the United States Children's Bureau, August, 1921, To Formulate Juvenile Court Standards* (1923), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 121, p. 2.

In another city the police are regarded as having concurrent jurisdiction and they dispose of many cases. The results of this practice are serious, as in cases where young girls are required to report to the police station in a form of probationary supervision. One case was related of a fourteen-year-old girl who was found living with a Chinese man. She was never brought into the juvenile court by the police, who handled the case independently.

A policy which encourages the police to take an apprehended child directly to the detention home rather than to the jail is a progressive one. However, this must be worked out as part of the court's entire procedure in delinquency cases. If the juvenile court and the police are working independently, the police may handle children day and night, without reference to either the court or the detention home. If, on the other hand, they have a friendly, understanding relationship, satisfactory adjustment of detention difficulties can be easily made.

#### USE OF THE DETENTION HOME FOR OTHER PURPOSES

It happens, not infrequently, that when institutional commitment has been ordered by the court, a child is returned to the detention home waiting transfer to the appropriate institution. What is intended to be a short period of custody may become a long period of detention-home care, because of the overcrowded condition of the institution to which he is going. In 74 areas probation officers and judges reported holding children for long periods because of this difficulty. This is particularly true in the case of mentally defective children, who are likely to be disturbing elements in any detention home.

Dependent children are frequently left in the detention home for long-time care because of lack of other community resources. Strictly speaking, they may be kept in the detention home "pending final disposition," but what begins as detention may become admittedly a custodial period, because placement or other care of the particular child proves difficult or impossible.

The deliberate use of the detention home by the court or other agencies for discipline is quite another matter. When this practice is frequent, it may change the character of the home itself. In 25 areas it was frankly stated that the institution is used for punishment or

corrective treatment, sometimes with the objective of forestalling commitment to a state institution. Truant children are brought to the home to get a "taste" of disciplinary routine. In one city a so-called truancy court in the school system holds informal hearings and is permitted to commit children to the detention home for periods up to ninety days. A child is frequently sent to the detention home to "quiet him down" for a while, or to "change his attitude." Incurrible children are sometimes brought to the home by their parents to frighten them into good behavior. Other agencies handling children's cases sometimes relieve their own burden by arranging a detention period with stricter discipline for the child than they are able to give.

The court may also remand children to the detention home for medical diagnosis and treatment. Sometimes the judge refuses to allow a child in need of certain medical treatment to leave the detention home unless he receives assurance from the parents that the treatment will be given. In some jurisdictions children are held for psychological and psychiatric study. Juvenile Hall in Los Angeles, for instance, is primarily a diagnostic center and only secondarily a detention home. The detention period is motivated entirely by the idea of diagnostic study.

It is evident that length of detention and the number of children detained may be complicated by factors other than necessary security of appearance in court. When a detention home is used for other purposes than holding a child pending court disposition, it is not altogether fair to imply criticism of either the length of detention periods or the number of children detained, without taking these other functions of the institution into consideration. The wisdom of such deviations in detention practice depends to a considerable extent on other resources in the community, and on the type of treatment in the detention home.

The efficiency of the program of detention is dependent upon the juvenile court to a large extent. The standards of the court will usually be reflected in the detention home, although this is not always the case, for in a few cities the detention home is in the hands of the politicians and the juvenile-court authorities use the home as sparingly as possible. Frequent court hearings, prompt investigations,

and an adequate staff of trained officers will cut down detention materially. The use of the summons will obviate the need for detention in many cases. The co-operation of the police with the court authorities will serve to select those children who need detention and court hearing and will tend to cut down the amount of delinquency in the community.



## CHAPTER V

### PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES: CAPACITY AND ATTENDANCE

Public detention homes located in 28 states and the District of Columbia were found in 63 of the 141 areas studied. Ten states included in the survey do not have such homes. The number of children admitted and the ratio per 100,000 in the general population of the area are shown in Table V.

The admissions to 61 detention homes<sup>1</sup> numbered 77,809 children of juvenile-court age. This represents 266.6 per 100,000 in the general population in the areas specified. A wide variation in admissions is evident in the different areas. Differences such as have already been indicated, in age of juvenile-court jurisdiction, in institutional capacity, in use of the home for other than strictly detention purposes, in use of other types of community resources such as jails or foster-homes, and diversity in police practice are contributing factors. Table V should be accepted simply as a statement of the number of admissions, and no attempt should be made to figure delinquency or dependency rates for the various areas on the figures given. Any community might use Table V as a point of departure for further study of that area. A figure considerably lower or higher than the average suggests investigation of the reason for variation.

#### BED CAPACITY

The population of 60 homes on the day of the survey is given in Table VI (see p. 34).

The number of beds per 100,000 of the general population for each area is also presented, a ratio of approximately 13, although many areas have more than the average. In addition, the number of beds in each home is shown, and the percentage in use. There were altogether 3,758 beds available, about two-thirds of them being occupied, with some striking variations in capacity and in proportion used.

<sup>1</sup> Two detention homes were unable to furnish the number of admissions in 1929-30.

## PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES

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TABLE V

NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS OF DETAINED CHILDREN OF JUVENILE-COURT AGE IN PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES IN 63 SPECIFIED AREAS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1929-30 AND THE RATIO PER 100,000 IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	ADMISSIONS	
	Number	Number per 100,000 Population
Total .....	77,809	266.6
<i>Alabama:</i>		
Jefferson (Birmingham) .....	749	173.8
Mobile (Mobile) .....	250	211.1
<i>Arkansas:</i>		
Pulaski (Little Rock) .....	605	403.7
<i>California:</i>		
Alameda (Oakland) .....	1,516	319.2
Los Angeles (Los Angeles) .....	4,853	219.7
San Francisco (San Francisco) .....	1,880	297.8
<i>Colorado:</i>		
Denver (Denver) .....	860	298.7
<i>Connecticut:</i>		
New Haven (New Haven) .....	615	132.7
City of Hartford* .....	383	233.4
<i>Delaware:</i>		
New Castle (Wilmington) .....	599	372.0
<i>District of Columbia:</i>		
Washington .....	1,402	288.0
<i>Georgia:</i>		
Fulton (Atlanta) .....	1,134	355.9
<i>Illinois:</i>		
Cook (Chicago) .....	8,775	220.4
Sangamon (Springfield) .....	82	73.4
<i>Indiana:</i>		
Allen (Fort Wayne) .....	90†	.....
Lake (Gary) .....	652	249.5
Marion (Indianapolis) .....	933‡	.....

\* Detention institution serves city only.

† Girls only.

‡ Includes about 1 in 8 of the children who are boarded for the state board.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE V—Continued

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	ADMISSIONS	
	Number	Number per 100,000 Population
<i>Iowa:</i>		
Polk (Des Moines).....	566	327.4
<i>Kentucky:</i>		
Jefferson (Louisville).....	1,739	489.3
<i>Louisiana:</i>		
Orleans (New Orleans).....	464§	.....
Caddo (Shreveport).....	288	231.0
<i>Michigan:</i>		
Genesee (Flint).....	780	368.5
Kent (Grand Rapids).....	671	278.9
Oakland (Pontiac).....	627	296.8
Wayne (Detroit).....	7,482	390.2
<i>Missouri:</i>		
Jackson (Kansas City).....	800	170.1
<i>Nebraska:</i>		
Douglas (Omaha).....	414	177.7
Lancaster (Lincoln).....	167	166.4
<i>New Jersey:</i>		
Atlantic (Atlantic City).....	223	178.7
Camden (Camden).....	900	356.7
Essex (Newark).....	1,266	151.9
Hudson (Jersey City).....	1,033	149.6
<i>New York:</i>		
City of Buffalo*.....	666	116.2
Oneida (Utica).....	289	145.4
Onondaga (Syracuse).....	879	301.4
Westchester (Yonkers).....	122†	.....
<i>North Carolina:</i>		
Wake (Raleigh).....	84	88.7
<i>Ohio:</i>		
Cuyahoga (Cleveland).....	3,512	292.3
Franklin (Columbus).....	1,826	505.7
Hamilton (Cincinnati).....	1,497	254.0
Lucas (Toledo).....	726	208.8
Mahoning (Youngstown).....	938	397.2
Montgomery (Dayton).....	817	298.7
Summit (Akron).....	N.R.	.....

\* Detention institution serves city only.

† Girls only.

§ Boys only.



TABLE V—*Continued*

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	ADMISSIONS	
	Number	Number per 100,000 Population
<i>Oregon:</i>		
Multnomah (Portland).....	165	48.8
<i>Pennsylvania:</i>		
Allegheny (Pittsburgh).....	3,123	227.2
Lackawanna (Scranton).....	806	259.7
Philadelphia (Philadelphia).....	7,675	393.4
<i>South Carolina:</i>		
City of Columbia*.....	314	608.7
<i>Tennessee:</i>		
City of Memphis*.....	1,458	575.9
Knox (Knoxville).....	N.R.	.....
<i>Utah:</i>		
Salt Lake City.....	508	362.2
<i>Virginia:</i>		
City of Norfolk*.....	255	196.6
City of Richmond.....	2,057 <sup>¶</sup>	792.2 <sup>¶</sup>
Cities of Roanoke and Salem.....	907	763.1**
<i>Washington:</i>		
King (Seattle).....	1,784	384.9
Pierce (Tacoma).....	345	216.1
Spokane (Spokane).....	648	430.6
<i>West Virginia:</i>		
Cabell (Huntington).....	285	313.9
Marion (Fairmount).....	54	81.0
Ohio (Wheeling).....	228	316.3
<i>Wisconsin:</i>		
Milwaukee (Milwaukee).....	2,714	374.2
Racine (Racine).....	248	274.9

\* Detention institution serves city only.

¶ Includes 606 children boarded for the state board.

¶ Computed for Richmond children only.

\*\* Computed for Roanoke Juvenile Court children only.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE VI

POPULATION OF 60 PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES ON THE DAY OF THE INVESTIGATOR'S VISIT; BED CAPACITY AND PERCENTAGE IN USE ON THE DAY OF SURVEY; NUMBER OF BEDS PER 100,000 IN POPULATION, 1930 CENSUS

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	POPULATION IN DETEN- TION HOME ON DAY OF SURVEY	BEDS		
		Number	Percentage in Use on Day of Survey	Number per 100,000 in Population
Total.....	2,359	3,758	62.8	12.9
<i>Alabama:</i>				
Jefferson (Birmingham).....	47	113	41.6	26.2
<i>Arkansas:</i>				
Pulaski (Little Rock).....	13	44	29.5	51.6
<i>California:</i>				
Alameda (Oakland).....	28	88	31.8	18.6
Los Angeles (Los Angeles).....	183	292	62.6	13.2
San Francisco (San Francisco).....	41	77	53.2	12.1
<i>Colorado:</i>				
Denver (Denver).....	0	12	0.0	4.2
<i>Connecticut:</i>				
City of Hartford.....	7	21	33.3	4.5
New Haven (New Haven).....	5	14	35.7	8.5
<i>Delaware:</i>				
New Castle (Wilmington).....	1	15	6.7	9.3
<i>District of Columbia:</i>				
Washington.....	23	58	39.6	11.9
<i>Georgia:</i>				
Fulton (Atlanta).....	11	20	55.5	6.3
<i>Illinois:</i>				
Cook (Chicago).....	209	325	64.3	8.2
Sangamon (Springfield).....	35	36	97.2	32.2
<i>Indiana:</i>				
Allen (Fort Wayne).....	22	35	62.9	23.9*
Lake (Gary).....	10	34	29.4	13.0
Marion (Indianapolis).....	32	36	88.9	8.5
<i>Iowa:</i>				
Polk (Des Moines).....	34	60	56.7	34.7
<i>Kentucky:</i>				
Jefferson (Louisville).....	43	82	52.4	23.1

\* Girls only.

TABLE VI—*Continued*

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	POPULATION IN DETEN- TION HOME ON DAY OF SURVEY	BEDS		
		Number	Percentage in Use on Day of Survey	Number per 100,000 in Population
<i>Louisiana:</i>				
Orleans (New Orleans).....	104	102	†	22.2†
Caddo (Shreveport).....	13	20	65.0	16.0
<i>Michigan:</i>				
Genesee (Flint).....	53	73	72.6	34.5
Kent (Grand Rapids).....	87	104	83.6	43.2
Oakland (Pontiac).....	103	124	83.1	58.7
Wayne (Detroit).....	234	327	71.6	17.3
<i>Missouri:</i>				
Jackson (Kansas City).....	14	30	46.7	6.4
<i>Nebraska:</i>				
Douglas (Omaha).....	45	60	75.0	25.8
Lancaster (Lincoln).....	7	19	36.8	18.9
<i>New Jersey:</i>				
Atlantic (Atlantic City).....	13	27	48.1	21.6
Camden (Camden).....	47	62	75.8	24.6
Essex (Newark).....	38	52	73.1	6.2§
Hudson (Jersey City).....	117	225	52.0	32.5§
<i>New York:</i>				
City of Buffalo.....	21	54	38.9	9.4
Oneida (Utica).....	6	15	40.0	7.6
Onondaga (Syracuse).....	23	45	51.1	15.4
Westchester (Yonkers).....	15	17	88.2	3.3*
<i>North Carolina:</i>				
Wake (Raleigh).....	1	18	5.5	19.0
<i>Ohio:</i>				
Cuyahoga (Cleveland).....	122	169	72.2	14.1
Franklin (Columbus).....	18	22	81.8	6.1
Hamilton (Cincinnati).....	26	36	72.2	6.1
Lucas (Toledo).....	31	42	73.8	12.1
Mahoning (Youngstown).....	9	26	34.6	11.0
Montgomery (Dayton).....	14	28	50.0	10.2
Summit (Akron).....	31	33	90.9	9.6
<i>Oregon:</i>				
Multnomah (Portland).....	30	40	75.0	11.8

\* Girls only.

† There were more children than beds.

‡ Boys only.

§ Parental school is the detention home.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE VI—*Continued*

COUNTY AND PRINCIPAL CITY SERVED BY DETENTION HOME	POPULATION IN DETEN- TION HOME ON DAY OF SURVEY	BEDS		
		Number	Percentage in Use on Day of Survey	Number per 100,000 in Population
<i>Pennsylvania:</i>				
Allegheny (Pittsburgh).....	80	65	†	4.8
Lackawanna (Scranton).....	4	30	13.3	9.7
Philadelphia:				
(Philadelphia DH).....	65	84	77.4	5.2
(Philadelphia DPW).....	14	17	82.4	
<i>South Carolina:</i>				
City of Columbia.....	44	50	88.0	96.9
<i>Tennessee:</i>				
Knox (Knoxville).....	26	50	52.0	32.1
<i>Utah:</i>				
Salt Lake City.....	9	45	20.0	32.1
<i>Virginia:</i>				
City of Norfolk.....	3	14	21.4	10.8
City of Richmond.....	42	80	52.5	44.3
<i>Washington:</i>				
King (Seattle).....	18	38	47.4	8.2
Pierce (Tacoma).....	6	20	30.0	12.2
Spokane (Spokane).....	10	26	38.5	17.3
<i>West Virginia:</i>				
Cabell (Huntington).....	5	20	25.0	22.0
Ohio (Wheeling).....	3	24	12.5	33.3
<i>Wisconsin:</i>				
Milwaukee (Milwaukee).....	57	51	†	7.0
Racine (Racine).....	7	13	53.8	14.4

† There were more children than beds.

The Denver detention home has a very rapid turnover of cases and the attendance on any one day is small, but the investigator came at an unusual time, when no children were there. In 3 homes there were more children than beds—Allegheny County, Pennsylvania; Milwaukee County, Wisconsin; and Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Allegheny County has fewer beds than the average, only 4.8 per 100,000 population. Milwaukee also has fewer beds than the average, and here the police bring practically all delinquents to the home, which

is the only method of detention in use. In New Orleans the detention home is the Municipal Boys' Home, which has many boys committed for care as well as those detained.

Sangamon County, Illinois, has a slightly different situation with 97.2 per cent of its beds in use, and almost three times the average number of beds. This county has the record for long detention periods, boys with an average of 347 days, girls with an average of 408 days, so that the home is filled to capacity most of the time, leaving no room for emergency cases. Pulaski County, Arkansas, has four times the average number of beds, but only 3 out of 10 were in use. The situation in Michigan is interesting. The four counties studied each have more beds than the general average, but Wayne County with the smallest number has the lowest percentage in use. The average number of days in detention in this county is much smaller than in the other three and very few dependent children are held in the home.

#### LENGTH OF DETENTION

Length of detention in public and other institutions is discussed fully with tabulated data elsewhere in this report. So far as the public detention home is concerned, there are a few points which might be emphasized here. Twenty-nine homes detain the children an average of less than 10 days each and 15 others from 10 to 20 days. At the other end of the scale we find children kept for a year or more—in fact, until they leave school and go to work. One county, referred to in the preceding paragraph, has an average for the boys of 347 days' detention, and for the girls, 408 days. In another city two children were really "brought up" in the detention home, as they were orphans and the superintendent became very much attached to them. Girls are, as a general rule, kept much longer than boys, perhaps owing to the fact that a larger percentage of the girls are dependents and therefore more likely to be held for a long period.

It is interesting to note that the larger communities without exception have a quicker turnover of detention-home population than the smaller communities, owing possibly to more adequate treatment resources at the disposal of the social workers and the court. Three of the 7 communities having the smallest population (less than 100,-

000) have the highest average attendance in the detention home. A tendency for the long-time detention periods to concentrate in homes where the annual admission is less than 1,000 children was noted, and these same communities in most cases have detention homes with beds in excess of the average per population. This points to the likelihood that empty beds will be filled and that it is easy for the probation officer to get into the habit of placing a child in the detention home because facilities are so available and convenient.

#### RATIO OF DEPENDENTS TO DELINQUENTS

Discussion of differences in detention practice for the two major groups of dependents and delinquents in public detention homes and other places is to be found elsewhere in this report. A few comments here are pertinent. In 31 of the public detention homes records were kept distinguishing the two groups. There were 7,309 dependent children detained in those 31 homes in the year 1929-30, and 37,951 delinquents. Thus of a total of 45,260, 16.1 per cent were dependent and 83.9 per cent were in the delinquent group. Certain public detention homes, such as Richmond, Virginia; Essex County, New Jersey; Hamilton County, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Ohio County, West Virginia, have delinquent children only. The Philadelphia Board of Public Welfare has a receiving home for dependent children. Large numbers of dependent children are detained in the public homes in Jefferson County, Alabama; Oakland County, Michigan; and Lucas County, Ohio.

#### POLICY OF ADMISSION AND RELEASE

Policies of admission and release to public detention homes range from a highly selective procedure to an open-door policy. The court of course always has the right to detain children. Admission, whether through the court or the head of the detention home, should certainly have the approval of a trained executive with case-work experience and necessary authority to refuse admission to children. All too often admission is in charge of a clerk with little or no authority and no discriminating judgment, so that it becomes merely a rubber-stamp procedure. In most localities, 51 of the 63 public detention home areas, children brought by the police are accepted, and in 23 of



these homes the police can also authorize their release. This practice obtains notwithstanding the accepted standard on this point: "When the child is taken to a place of detention for juveniles, the authority of the police should cease except for giving information as to the cause of the child's arrest and filing a formal petition or complaint."<sup>3</sup> Other agencies besides the police and the juvenile court are frequently permitted to detain children and to secure their release without other authority than their own request.<sup>4</sup>

Children are released on bond from a few homes. In several the superintendent has full authority to release. In some cases a rule is established that a child not taken to court within a specified time, usually a day or two, is to be released by the superintendent. Sometimes this official undertakes investigations, especially of runaways, and discharges children without any court authorization. One superintendent, because it was necessary to hold a psychopathic girl who was making a great disturbance, on her own authority discharged all of the other children, a small number, in the detention home. Clearly centralization of authority for both admission and release in the juvenile court, with delegated authority for the police in some cases, is the most effective method of reducing unnecessary detentions and of keeping a check on the detention-home population.

Two large western cities of almost identical population and general makeup form an interesting contrast in admission practice. In the first, admission to the detention home is by court order only. The other can hardly be said to have an intake policy, as children are ac-

<sup>3</sup> *Juvenile Court Standards: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Children's Bureau, August, 1921, To Formulate Juvenile Court Standards* (adopted by a conference held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association, Washington, May 18, 1923), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 121.

<sup>4</sup> In 17 homes representatives of social agencies have the right to bring children to the home; in 12, the school authorities; in 7, federal agents; in 14, the welfare bureau; in 1, the county agent; in 4, magistrates; in 1, the prosecutor; in 5, the State Board of Children's Guardians; in 51, the police; in 21, other officers of the peace; in 3, the juvenile police; in 5, the parents of the children; in 12, the superintendent; and in 5 there is "open house," for anyone can bring a child and he will be accepted without question.

The court can release children in all homes; in 30 homes, the probation officer; in 14, the chief probation officer only; in 23, the police; in 13, the committing agency; in 16, the superintendent of the home; in 1, the board of health; in 2, the prosecutor or justice of the peace; in 4, the State Board of Children's Guardians.

cepted without question from almost any source. The second home detains annually ten times the number of children held by the first. Perhaps the fact that the second institution is in a juvenile-court building near the business center of town, whereas the other home is in a suburban residence neighborhood about six miles from the courthouse, also affects this difference.

The agency of admission and the agency of release are most important factors in detention-home administration. Far too many children are placed in detention homes simply because such placement is the easiest way out of an emergency. Far too many children are left for long periods of time in detention homes because the overburdened probation officer or social worker is not required to handle the situation promptly. Too many of the detention homes have ceased to be temporary shelters for children removed from their own homes pending investigation by the court, and have become instead permanent custodial institutions. Each community should study its detention home to see whether it is really fulfilling its purpose or whether it is being used for long-time stays of children who are hard to place. If there is a need in the community for long-time care of children, then these children should be provided for by an agency that can give them proper care and treatment. Certainly the arrangements, program, and personnel of the detention home are not fitted to the needs of such children. The removal from detention homes of dependent children and of problem children would give needed space for delinquent children, many of whom are now forced into jails or police stations because the detention homes are filled with children who do not belong there.

## CHAPTER VI

### PHYSICAL PLANT AND PERSONNEL OF PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES

The public detention homes found in 63 areas were inspected by the investigators, who filled out a detailed schedule for each home. Some are in buildings planned for detention, well equipped and staffed with competent or fairly competent personnel. Other homes are in buildings poorly adapted for their purpose, with little or very poor equipment, and with an insufficient staff, untrained for their difficult task and lacking imagination to understand its possibilities. Most of the homes are between these two extremes. A few have a good building, but poor staff; some have badly planned buildings, but a staff functioning well in a place ill adapted to the needs of detained children.

The United States Children's Bureau recommends the following standards of physical equipment of an adequate detention home:

1. Sufficient space to accommodate without crowding the number of children likely to be detained at any one time.
2. Arrangement of rooms so as to permit segregation according to sex, character, and physical condition. Neglected and dependent children, if cared for in a detention home, should be entirely separated from delinquent children. For older children, single rooms are usually conceded to be better than dormitories, and less supervision at night is necessary when single rooms are provided.
3. Separate bathing and toilet facilities for boys and girls, and for children suffering from infectious diseases.
4. Proper lighting and ventilation.
5. Dining rooms, recreation rooms, and schoolrooms.
6. Security against escape—windows may be protected by iron screening or may be constructed of iron frames with small panes of glass.
7. Adequate protection from fire.
8. Outdoor play space.<sup>1</sup>

Very few homes included in this survey meet these standards.

<sup>1</sup> Katharine F. Lenroot and E. O. Lundberg, *Juvenile Courts at Work* (1925), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 141, pp. 67-68.

## JUVENILE DETENTION

## LOCATION OF DETENTION HOMES

The accessibility of the detention homes to the juvenile court has some bearing on the number of children detained, the co-operation between the detention-home staff and the probation staff, and sometimes on the interest of the judge in the home. Juvenile courts are usually near the center of population, and detention homes at a distance from the court decrease the likelihood of use by police and probation officers. In one county in an eastern state the number of children held in the jail far exceeds the number in the detention home because the home is located about seventeen miles from the largest city.

In 20 areas of the study the juvenile court is held in the detention home, a very convenient arrangement; in 9 cities the detention home is located within a mile of the court, several being only across the street; in 24 cities the home is located from one to five miles from the court; and in 10 the location is beyond a five-mile radius. Other conditions of location include 12 homes in business areas, some on upper floors of high buildings, making the problem of recreation acute; 14 in residential neighborhoods; 17 in deteriorated areas. Four detention homes are in rural sections, 2 on farms, and 8 in the suburbs. Four homes adjoin the county hospital, creating the necessity of keeping the children from the almshouse inmates.

## BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Generally the detention home occupies one building, but in 22 communities two or more buildings, sometimes widely separated, make up the institution. In 8 cases buildings for boys and girls are separate; separate buildings for Negro children are found in 8 communities; in 4 the dependent and delinquent children are separately housed, while in 2 the fact that the home was formerly a municipal hospital accounts for the several buildings.

The grounds surrounding the home are important, not only because of the need for air and light, but also of space for recreation. Eight detention homes have no ground whatever, so the children can have no outdoor recreation, except that in 2 cases there is a small play space on the roof; 22 have ample grounds of from one to sixty



acres; 21 have grounds that are "large"; 15 "small"; and 6 "very small."

The adequacy of the homes depends partly upon the adaptability of the buildings. In 28 communities they were planned with detention in mind though unfortunately the architects did not always have advice as to detention needs, with the result that the homes are splendid buildings but poorly adapted to the purpose. In the other 35 communities, buildings are more or less remodeled to meet detention needs. Many are badly arranged with a serious lack of toilet facilities (insufficient toilet accommodation commented upon specifically in 21 instances; 9 reports of adequate facilities) and inadequate fire protection. In 1 home the superintendent reports that "285 children slept in the home for a total of 1,371 nights, and that 200 baths had been given." In this home there is only one bath and one toilet for all of the children although there are beds for 15 boys and 5 girls.

The fire hazard is sometimes serious (18 homes being reported as inadequately protected; 17 as safe). In 12 homes the children are locked in their rooms, and in the event of fire they would have to be released individually by unlocking doors since the windows are barred. In one old frame house heated by a furnace, all of the windows are barred and the children are locked in individual rooms day and night. It is even impossible to go from the front to the back of the second floor where the children are kept without descending one stairway and ascending another. In another home where it is necessary to unlock switches on the ground floor to release the wire screening over the dormitory windows giving access to the fire escapes, the chief probation officer admitted that the building did not meet fire regulations, but said that they had "got by" with it so far. The fire escapes are on the side of the building near a driveway in still another home and direct the children to a brick-lined "pocket" at the rear of the building instead of toward the street.

What do the children see as they play in the yard or look out of the windows? Unattractive and even menacing surroundings were found in some locations. One home has three cemeteries adjoining. In another an abandoned factory near by is the rendezvous of boys and men who signal to the girls in the home. In one community the win-

dows of the detention home face the jail windows only a few feet away. The obscenity of the adult prisoners is complained of by the matron, and sometimes the men strip and stand in the windows, making it necessary to report them. In addition, the alley between the jail and the detention home is filled with rubbish, particularly a large number of odoriferous mash barrels seized in raids. The mash is around on the ground and the pigeons are frequently drunk on it. About half of the homes were reported to have an attractive setting.

The homes vary widely in external appearance. In a few cases the investigator commented that the detention home looked like a jail, and in 16 that the home was institutional in appearance. Thirteen have high fences surrounding them. Some of the fences are of ornamental iron; others are of brick or stucco. With a high wall and bars on the windows, some homes are like bastiles, with no suggestion of a place where parental care is given to children. A policewoman in one city reported that girls who have been in both the jail and the detention home ask to be kept in the jail "because it is so much more pleasant and homelike." On the other hand, some of the homes are on quiet streets and cannot be distinguished from their neighbors. This is desirable, though in one case the superintendent keeps the children in because she does not want the neighbors to object to so many children playing around the house. In several places comment was made that the home was very dilapidated, and in almost one-fourth of the cases that the home was inadequate. In only 10 instances were the homes described as really attractive in appearance.

Nor were the investigators impressed with the interiors. Most of them were reported to be clean or "as clean as could be expected in such an old building," one-third of them were described as dreary and shabby, and another third as plain or meager in appearance. In only 14 of the homes did the investigators report a comfortable and homelike interior.

#### EQUIPMENT AND FURNISHINGS

With regard to equipment, also, the homes vary greatly, about one-third having furniture described as meager, poor, and worn. In one or two cases there are not enough chairs so that all of the children can sit down at one time. Rarely are there comfortable, restful



chairs for children; they are mostly hard, often backless, and of adult size only. In two cases the children are not allowed to use the living-rooms or bedrooms in the daytime in order to keep the furniture in good condition. These children were found sitting on the floor in the corridors or on low benches. One child, returning a second time to a detention home, recalled himself to the superintendent as "the boy who had to be scolded so much for putting his hand on the banister." One better type of home with the appearance of a school building is inconveniently located several miles from the court and hence is used mainly for the care of dependent children, who are allowed to play out in the large yard, well equipped with swings, teeters, and other play devices. The home is pleasant, light, and airy. There is a radio as well as a victrola, and the children are allowed to dance and read or play games. In the basement there is a boys' and girls' playroom. The dining-room has bright, painted furniture. The children are allowed to help the cook and to use the attractive kitchen equipment. But almost all of the delinquent children in this community are held in jail.

#### SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS

In 13 homes only dormitories are used, and in another the boys sleep in dormitories while the girls have single rooms. In 7 homes there are only single rooms; in the rest there are mixed dormitories and single rooms. Night supervision is simplified by the use of single rooms. In some homes the supervisor has to sleep in the dormitory or just outside the door, although a hard-worked matron should not be expected to do supervisory duty at night. In a few homes there are guards to patrol the building and inspect the dormitories frequently during the night. In other homes the children are left to themselves, sometimes on a different floor from the staff, and no attempt is made to protect them from the contagion of bad sex practices and exchange of delinquent experience. In one home the room of the boys' recreation leader, a young college man, is on the floor with the girls, while the woman employees sleep downstairs. The superintendent sees no harm in this arrangement, as she says that the young man pays no attention to the girls.

## PERSONNEL

*Selection.*—The personnel of detention homes is a vital consideration, for poor equipment can be minimized if the staff is adequate and efficient. The investigators endeavored to ascertain whether the personnel is selected on specified qualifications, or whether politics or other considerations influence the appointments. In only 13 communities are qualifications demanded (in several cases there are civil service requirements); in 4 homes it was said that “experience” was demanded, including such experience as guard or attendant in a correctional school. In 36 communities there seem to be no qualifications, and selection is made because the applicants need work, because of political obligations, or because no one else wants the job with the small salary and long hours. Officials were asked whether politics influenced staff selection and in about half of the communities this was admitted.

An attempt was made to ascertain the appointing agent for the superintendent and the staff, and whether or not approval of other agencies was necessary. The superintendent has the key position in the detention home, for he sets the standards. A competent superintendent can do wonders with an inferior staff if he is not handicapped by politics. The agencies of appointment for the superintendent and the staff vary somewhat.<sup>2</sup> In 20 areas appointment of the superintendent must have some official approval, and in 27 areas staff appointments must be approved.<sup>3</sup>

There are 718 full-time employees paid by the detention homes and 24 part-time employees. In addition, 6 employees receive main-

<sup>2</sup> Selection of the present superintendent was made by the detention-home board in 14 areas; the juvenile-court judge in 27 areas; the chief probation officer in 2 areas; the board of supervisors or city council in 7 areas; civil service in 11 areas; and in 2 areas the appointments had been made so long ago that no person remembered the basis for appointment.

Selection of the staff was made by the detention-home board in 4 areas; the judge in 18 areas; the chief probation officer in 4 areas; civil service in 8; the board of supervisors or city council in 4; the superintendent of the home in 23; in 1 area the superintendent of the home appointed all of the staff except the medical staff, who were appointed by the medical superintendent; and in 1 there has been no staff turnover in such a long time that no one knew the basis of appointment.

<sup>3</sup> Approval of appointment of the superintendent was given by the judge in 6 areas; the juvenile-court committee in 2; the detention-home board in 2; the board of super-

tenance only in return for services. It was impossible to classify the employees as the duties vary so much, dependent upon the size of the home and of the staff. Another difficulty is the lack of uniformity of nomenclature. In a small detention home the matron is also superintendent and sometimes cook. In a large home jobs are classified into superintendent, attendants, nurses, cooks, and others.

*Professional services.*—It is of interest to know the number of professional people on the paid staffs of the detention homes. Ten doctors give part-time service, and 3 medical students give service in return for maintenance. In addition, 2 superintendents are doctors. Four homes have full-time psychiatrists; 1 a part-time psychiatrist; and 1 psychiatrist-endocrinologist gives one day a week. Four psychologists give their entire time to detained children. Three part-time dentists are paid from detention-home funds. There are 41 registered nurses on detention-home staffs, and 7 others are registered nurses, though not serving in that capacity. Sixteen full-time teachers and 1 part-time teacher are paid by detention homes, but not all of them have qualifications meeting local standards. There is a full-time psychiatric social worker in 1 detention home. Six full-time recreation leaders and 1 part-time worker are employed to direct the children's play activities.

Service is also donated by other agencies. It is impossible to give an accurate account of the medical, psychiatric, and psychological service given by clinics, hospitals, and other agencies, but some idea of the number of persons definitely assigned to work at the detention homes may be given. Five doctors make daily visits, 16 come on a regular schedule, and 23 come when called. Five dentists give part-time service. In 7 areas a nurse gives part-time service; and in 1 city the nurse gives her full time but is on the pay-roll of the juvenile court. Three psychologists serve detention homes on regular appointments. Three social workers, 2 clerks, and 3 medical specialists

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visors in 4; the chief probation officer in 4; the state board of public welfare in 1; and the board of children's guardians in 1.

Approval of the staff appointments was given by the detention-home board in 9 areas; the judge in 9; the juvenile-court committee in 2; the chief probation officer in 3; the board of supervisors in 1; the superintendent of the detention home in 2; and the state board of public welfare in 1 area.

are attached to one clinic meeting regularly at a detention home. Three recreation leaders are assigned to detention homes on a regular part-time schedule. In 24 homes a total of 61 full-time and 3 part-time teachers are assigned by the board of education. An art teacher and a music teacher give regular lessons to the children in one home.

*Maintenance.*—Full maintenance is provided for 349 employees in detention homes, including 6 who receive no salaries. In 40 homes all of the employees receive full maintenance; in 21 homes some do and others do not;<sup>4</sup> and in 2 homes no employees receive full maintenance. A comfortable room with a measure of privacy is essential for any institutional staff worker.<sup>5</sup> In some cases the matrons have to sleep in the same room as the children, but usually staff members have individual rooms, or a room shared with another employee. Bathrooms frequently must be shared with other members of the staff. Usually the superintendent has an attractive apartment.

So far as dining-room arrangements are concerned, several different types of provision for the employees were found.<sup>6</sup> In half of the homes the staff eat the same food as the children, with the addition of tea and coffee. The other homes provide additional food. In an occasional home the diet served the children is good, but poorly balanced meals, lacking fresh fruits and vegetables and with very little milk, are common. In one home the matron allows the children to make the menus, with the result that the food is poorly selected from a dietetic standpoint.

*Working conditions.*—The hours of work for the staff are generally very long<sup>7</sup>—more so for the women than for the men. Matrons have

<sup>4</sup> Of the 21 homes providing full maintenance to only a part of the staff, it was found that in 7 most of the employees had full maintenance; in 2, the matrons only; in 1, the superintendent only; and in 11, only a few of the employees.

<sup>5</sup> In 45 of the homes the rooms of the employees are fairly comfortable and adequate; in 7 they are drab but not uncomfortable, while in 9 the accommodations are very poor. Of course, these judgments of adequacy and comfort are subjective.

<sup>6</sup> In 17 homes the staff eat at the same table with the children; in 18 the staff eat in the children's dining-room but at separate tables; in 23 there are staff dining rooms; in 3 the staff eat some meals with the children and others in private; and in 3 homes the children have their meals in their own rooms.

<sup>7</sup> In 38 detention homes the members of the staff are on call at all hours of the day and night; in 12 there is a twelve-hour duty for most of the employees; in 8 there is generally an eight-hour schedule for most of the staff; and in 5 some workers are on call at all hours while others have a good working schedule.



long hours, but cooks, janitors, and the professional staff usually have a reasonable working-day. In many of the homes effort is made to give the staff some time off each day, and an occasional day off. Some staff workers have an annual vacation. In some places where there is very little free time for an overworked staff, children are often put to bed too early in order to give the staff a rest. It is not to be wondered that matrons adopt the "rocking-chair" type of supervision, so that they can have some relief. But that does not excuse such inadequacy of staff in a public institution for children who so much need skilled, competent supervision.

*Efficiency.*—It is impossible to give anything but subjective estimates of the personnel of detention homes. By and large, the staff workers are not well trained, but there are some striking exceptions to this. At Juvenile Hall in Los Angeles County, for example, the staff is selected by civil service and the tenure of office depends on efficiency. There are specific qualifications for each position, and the incumbent has a professional interest in his job. In Detroit much attention is given to staff selection and training. The Wayne County (Detroit) Juvenile Court frequently recruits its probation officers from the detention-home supervisors. In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, the new superintendent fell heir to several poor political appointees. The most unsatisfactory workers were tactfully induced to resign, and those remaining are striving for a high standard of proficiency. Staff-training has become an important part of the régime. The supervisors have become imbued with the idea that they are "directors of group activities" and not "guards."

On the other hand, in certain homes the superintendent and staff have been recruited from unprogressive state correctional schools, from the sheriff's staff or other non-professional sources. In these cases the result is exactly what one would expect—a system of guards, with little or no appreciation of the needs of the children. A considerable number of the matrons are of the middle-aged or elderly "housekeeping" type. In one home the staff consists of a kindly man, formerly a farmer, and his wife, a good woman with an aptitude for cooking. Because of ignorance and lack of imagination, they keep the children in their care locked up in separate rooms, with no recreation whatever. These children eat in solitude the excellent food

supplied and all of their wants are cared for by the man. It simply has not occurred to this couple that there are other needs for children than a clean bed and good food. In one of the middle western cities, the investigator's comment on the staff was: "The superintendent is a woman who must be seventy-three or seventy-four years of age, deaf, forgetful, and fussy. Yet, with the exception of the cook, she impresses one as the best on the staff, because she is kind and interested in the children." The investigator says of the superintendent in a large city detention home: "This man has very little interest in the children themselves and no insight into delinquency problems or treatment. His interest is in keeping down expenses and thereby demonstrating the value of his services." This man's interpretation of his job is further indicated by the fact that when escorting boys from the detention home to the industrial school it is his practice to have them manacled.

The selection of a nurse as superintendent of the detention home seems to have been quite successful in several communities. However, the chief function of a detention home is not medical, nor should the home be regarded as a special type of children's hospital. The administrator of any detention home should be well trained in social work, and emphasis in administration should be first on the social rather than the medical aspects of the problem.

In some homes a probation officer is the superintendent of the detention home. This means that for several hours a day the superintendent is absent and the direction of the home is left to others—not a very satisfactory arrangement. In Philadelphia, however, the superintendent and assistant superintendent have been commissioned as referees with power to hear the cases brought in for specified reasons, and to release the children if it seems desirable. If superintendents are well-qualified executives with social service training, this seems a desirable policy.



## CHAPTER VII

### PROGRAM AND SERVICES IN PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES

The program and services in the public detention home are more vitally important to the children than the physical equipment of the institution. Policies as to segregation, medical care, psychological study, education, occupation, discipline, and recreation define the standards of the institution.

#### SEGREGATION

Segregation of incoming children is medically advisable to prevent venereal infection and other types of contagion. There are 72 institutional units in the 63 areas having public detention homes. In only 21 are incoming children segregated from the others.<sup>1</sup>

Segregation for other than medical reasons involves quite different problems. An attempt is made in most of the homes to keep the boys and girls separate or, if not entirely so, at least under careful supervision during meal time or other occasions when the two sexes are together. Unless supervision is adequate, it is not uncommon for the older boys and girls to make "dates" to meet after release.

Segregation of Negro from white children was found in 27 homes, and in 2 additional ones they are separated in the dormitories. Generally speaking, there is no attempt made to segregate by race in the North, but it is always done in the South.

In only one-third of the homes is there an attempt to separate the older from the younger children. The program suitable for the older group is not usually applicable to younger children; in general, there is greater need for secure detention with the older children. The problem of age segregation is not unlike the problem of separating the dependent children from the delinquents—another major divi-

<sup>1</sup> Four homes reported that they usually segregate incoming children, 3 that they segregate suspicious cases, and 1 that they segregate girls only. In 37 units there is no attempt at segregation whatsoever. In 6 cases there is no record of segregation, but the assumption is that there is none.

sion. It is exceedingly difficult to draw the line. All too frequently a child with an admission status of dependent is so serious a behavior problem that he is more of a menace in a group than another child admitted as a delinquent. Age is equally hard to limit except as to extremes. It is true that the older child may initiate the younger in undesirable practices, and, in addition, some of the big boys take a malicious pleasure in tormenting the younger ones. Also, the big boy is likely to become the hero of the younger lad, and thus the pattern will be set to emulate him on return to the community. But a younger child of the active delinquent type may spread contagion more quickly than a much older boy who is a less aggressive type of delinquent.

There are in both these groups so many borderline cases that attempts to segregate may become almost farcical. Segregation should be on a case basis as well as a group basis, but when detention periods are short there is frequently insufficient time to do this. There is also the practical difficulty of providing for so many types of segregation within one institution, particularly a small one. Such lines of separation are sound in principle, but must of necessity be modified in practice. In only 34 homes are dependent children segregated from delinquents, including those homes for dependents only or delinquents only.<sup>2</sup>

Segregation may amount to solitary confinement, the cruelty of which has not apparently occurred to some officials. In 11 homes delinquents are kept in individual rooms. Even attendance in the dining-room is forbidden in some homes.<sup>3</sup> Not to have the social relief of going to a common dining-room is tragic. In 3 of the homes silence is enforced in the dining-room. In 1 home where the children were found to be locked up in single rooms all of the time, the only relief from boredom was an old number of the *War Cry*, and the appearance three times a day of an elderly man with the meal tray. Solitary

<sup>2</sup> In 9 homes they reported that some of the children were segregated; in 1 the matron reported that she kept the dependents with her, but this is obviously a somewhat questionable segregation. In other homes serious delinquents may be locked up. In 2 homes the dependents and delinquents are segregated only at night. In 27 homes there is no segregation because of dependency or delinquency.

<sup>3</sup> In 7 homes the children confined in detention rooms must eat in their rooms. All of the children in 3 homes eat alone in their rooms.

confinement for adult prisoners is severe punishment. Why use it for children pending court hearing?

#### MEDICAL FACILITIES

Many children coming to detention homes are in need of medical examination and treatment of some sort. But in only 31 homes are the children given even a routine examination, and in some instances these are very cursory. In 2 other homes only the girls are examined regularly, the boys being referred to the doctor when apparently in need of attention.<sup>4</sup>

The only way to insure the detention-home population against the spread of infectious disease is to isolate the children on reception until a physical examination and laboratory tests are made, and to provide for the separation of those found to have infectious disease.<sup>5</sup> The problem is especially difficult because of the short time the children stay in detention and the loneliness of those who are isolated pending examination. In many detention homes no attempt is made to segregate children pending examination unless symptoms of disease are evident. It is difficult to be consistent regarding this preliminary medical isolation and in smaller homes the danger is greatly diminished. In only 15 of the homes studied is there no possibility that an infected child would contaminate other children.

In very few detention homes can it be said that there is anything like adequate medical care and treatment. When there are registered nurses on the staff, the children probably receive good medical care. In only 28 instances are there isolation rooms, and some of these are very poor. In 1 city a damp room in the basement, where the child has to call loudly for help when needed, is used for isolation. Cases

<sup>4</sup> In 16 homes the children are sent to clinics when necessary. In 26 homes the doctor comes regularly and examines those children selected by members of the staff as needing medical attention. In 45 homes the doctor comes only when called. In 14 homes the nurse inspects the children and selects those who need isolation and medical attention.

<sup>5</sup> In only 13 homes are all of the children segregated until medical examination. In 20 other homes "suspicious cases" are segregated, particularly girls who are brought in because of sex offenses. In 1 home there is segregation for sleeping only. In 23 homes there is no possibility of segregation.

In 31 out of 72 detention-home units there is a routine medical examination with laboratory tests. In 24 homes the children are given laboratory tests only when venereal infection is suspected.

of smallpox and measles have been kept there. In a few homes there is an infirmary but children who are really ill are usually sent to the county hospital. Detention is frequently complicated by periods of quarantine. This is bound to occur in institutions handling many children with a large daily intake and inadequate provision for isolation.

In 30 homes children are held in detention for medical treatment which the parents cannot be depended upon to carry out. In 2 communities parents are not allowed to take children home until they have given assurance that certain specified medical treatment will be provided. One detention home is used as a county health center, and here one of the mother's pension cases was brought for confinement a short time before the investigator's visit. Several sterilizations of feeble-minded women, and a good many tonsillectomies and circumcisions, have been performed in this home. Yet there is no trained nurse on the staff. In another home tonsillectomies have been performed on the kitchen table.

*Venereal treatment.*—Venereal-disease control is particularly a problem with girls. What is the treatment procedure for these children in the detention homes? Usually the girl is taken at once to the hospital.<sup>6</sup> It is a hazardous practice to send a girl to the county hospital or other institution where she will be placed with infected older women, frequently prostitutes. Where to send these girls is a problem that has not been satisfactorily solved in most of the cities studied. Frequently they do not need hospitalization, but must be given clinical care under conditions that protect others. In 1 home a girl of eleven after mingling for four days with other children in the home was found on examination to have gonorrhea. A gonorrheal infection may easily be spread where toilet facilities are not adequate and supervision is lax.

*Psychiatric and psychological service.*—There are as yet few detention homes making provision for psychiatric studies of the children, or for psychological testing. But it is encouraging to note that

<sup>6</sup> In 39 homes the child is removed at once to the hospital; in 8 homes all of the syphilitic and the acute cases of gonorrhea are removed; in 9 homes the child is segregated in the home and sent out to the clinic for treatment. In 6 homes there is adequate provision for treatment in the home, and in 1 home there is no provision for treatment.



attempts are being made to meet these needs in several localities. In 21 homes most of the children receive group tests, usually administered by the school-teachers. Just what use is made of this information in most cases never appears on the records. Eleven homes report that "some" children are tested; 25 homes that an "occasional" child has a test. Thirteen frankly admitted no provision for psychometrics. In 43 homes psychiatric examinations are said to be arranged when such study is indicated. It may be noted, however, that in most of the homes few of the staff would recognize the need for psychiatric study.

If the detention home is to be used for a diagnostic center, it must be staffed with competent observers. With untrained personnel it is much more likely that an unruly child will be transferred to the jail than that he will be referred for psychiatric study. Furthermore, the withdrawn solitary child will arouse only satisfaction in the average matron who will fail to see the danger signals of this type.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Insufficient provision for an educational program in detention homes is a common shortcoming. Many detained children are retarded in school. Some have been truants and runaways; some are in detention pending commitment to institutions for mental defectives; and many have attended school irregularly for various reasons. Sometimes the detained child is the dull-witted one of a little gang, the bright boys having made a "getaway" from the police. These varying factors complicate the educational program of the home.

In the face of compulsory-school-attendance laws, not a child in 14 detention homes is given any schooling whatever. In 11 homes most of the children do not have school; in 3 the Negro children are deprived of education while the white children have it; in 2 only the boys have a teacher; in 4 the delinquents have no school; and in 1 home delinquent boys have no educational opportunity.<sup>7</sup> The excuse given is that the time is too short to make it pay.

In many detention homes there is only a pretense of school, the children being occupied for several hours on something nominally

<sup>7</sup> In 29 of the homes there is some sort of school. In 7 homes school is only for certain children. There are public-school teachers in 32 instances, and in 4 the teachers may or

designated as education. One teacher assigned by the local board of education stated that for most of the children very little could be accomplished. She endeavors to supply children with books along their lines of interest so that they can read in their rooms. The girl who is farthest advanced academically in one home gathers the other girls around her for school. In another the matron holds "school" every day by meeting with the girls around a table for reading and talk. It is evident that such schooling is not of much value except to keep children busy.

In one city the detention-home-school record is kept for clinical study and observations are noted by the psychiatrist. In this school, staffed with competent teachers, there is emphasis on small groups so that individual needs can be met. Girls are given some domestic training, and boys work in the manual arts. The project method is used extensively. Children in bed are given two hours of individual work and infected children have school on the roof. There is a comprehensive educational plan for all children in the institution.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF THE CHILDREN

In most of the homes<sup>8</sup> the children help with the lighter work and the employees do the heavy work. Probably the greatest criticism of the employment of children in the homes is that there is not enough work to keep them busy for the greater part of the time and what they do is not of real educational value. Although some attempts are made to teach girls something of homekeeping, the work usually consists of cleaning the floors in the halls and living-rooms, keeping the dormitories clean, and making the beds. A few children

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may not have the qualifications of public-school teachers. There is full-time school in 23 areas, and in the others the children have only a few hours of school or they may be taken from the school to assist in the home on occasion.

In 4 homes the children are sent to the neighborhood public school. In 21 homes a few children, usually dependents who have been in the home for a long period of time, are allowed to go to the public school.

<sup>8</sup> In 2 homes the big boys are kept in the laundry all day, and in another they work on the grounds. In 9 homes the children have very little work to do, and usually these are the homes where the children are locked in barren rooms most of the time. In 5 homes the tasks are supposed to be primarily for the educational value of the work, the girls helping in the kitchen and being trained to make beds and set the table while the boys help with tasks in the garden, yard, or farm.



work in the kitchen and set the tables. Generally, however, the cook does not want the children around when she is at work. In only 2 homes was it admitted that children were taken from classes to help with the work.

In 2 homes children are not permitted to work, and here they are kept in single rooms and are very lonely and bored. In 1 of these homes, a boy of twelve who had been held longer than usual was allowed to wash windows as a special privilege, a few each day. His joy in doing it impressed the superintendent, but apparently did not change her opinion that "sitting and thinking" is the best occupation for the detained child.

#### DISCIPLINE

The matter of discipline is one of the most difficult in detention-home administration. Many children have special problems such as temper tantrums or bad sex habits, some are defective mentally or epileptic, others are neglected children who have had few opportunities for training in their own homes. Handling the boy or girl who has had several previous detention periods and perhaps other institutional experience calls for a different approach from that required for children whose only difficulty is lack of home care.

Locks and bars are an easy answer to the problem of the unruly child. Such practice is based on the idea of punitive treatment and repression and to some extent it is an index of standards in the institution. Fifty of the detention units have barred rooms for the confinement of unruly children. In only 7 of the homes with punishment rooms does the superintendent authorize their use in the individual case. In the others any staff member may place a child there. It is a foregone conclusion that this practice will be most common where staff members are untrained and feel the need of maintaining their authority or conquering the child in a war of wills.

In 7 of the detention homes delinquent children are kept in individual rooms all of the time, and in 2 homes all of the children are locked up day and night. Children are even locked away from their beds in 1 institution, a heavy grating being used for the purpose. They sit idle on backless benches all day. Children locked in a bare room with nothing to do are the ones of whom the workers complain

bitterly because of their vindictive spirit and destructive tendencies. In 1 home where the "guards" are armed, the boys became unruly to the point of outbreak. Such complaints are always correlated with absence of any interesting or constructive occupation.

Some of the discipline rooms are a good reproduction of a jail cell. Others are simply isolation rooms where the child may be put to meditate until he is in the right spirit to return to the group. In 1 home a "dark room" in the basement is used, a room with a brick wall, a cement floor, a zinc-lined door, and ventilation from the laundry chute. The door was badly dented by a girl who kicked it in a hysterical fit, during which she also tore off her clothes. The room is cold and the superintendent reports that a child will generally promise anything to get out. In 1 detention home a despairing boy confined in a gloomy basement lockup committed suicide one night. In another institution the superintendent has equipped the "cells" with a hidden microphone which conveys the conversation of the boys to his office. Using this as a guide, he releases them when he thinks them in a fit mental state to emerge.

Other methods of discipline include depriving children, particularly runaways, of their clothing, and in some instances using what is called "corrective dress," such as making the boys wear girls' clothes. In 1 home the girls wear a cotton uniform, which the superintendent thinks has in itself a corrective effect as it makes them conscious of their delinquent status. Stigmatizing a child by a special type of dress is, from a psychological standpoint, certainly open to question. In 20 homes the method used with children who are "naughty" is to confer or reason with them; in 17 homes there is deprivation of food; in 17 there is deprivation of privileges, such as outdoor play, the "movies," or visitors; in 19 homes children are shaken, scolded, or whipped, but usually the whipping is not much more than an old-fashioned spanking. In 19 homes children are sent to their rooms or to bed until they change their attitude. In 4 homes children are made to "stand on line" or to face the walls for periods of time; and in 3 homes the military type of obedience is enforced for the boys.

The use of work as punishment has the advantage of directing the surplus energy of an unruly child into channels of useful activity and to a certain extent is wholesome. It is used in a good many homes.

However, when it becomes merely putting in hours of dreary household drudgery, its character-building effect is certainly slight and the association in the child's mind of punishment and work may affect his later attitude toward work itself. Like any other type of discipline, it needs judgment in administration.

Some extreme methods of punishment are used. One home has adopted the method of chaining the child to a chair which he has to carry around with him. In another a strait-jacket is sometimes used for girls with "temper tantrums." In one of the larger cities a twelve-year-old underweight girl was made to spend her waking hours scrubbing the floor of the solitary detention cell, upon which she had later to place a mattress which was her bed. The room was damp and the girl complained that she had insufficient covering. She was kept on a diet of bread and water for five days. The field investigator arrived at one home just as two boys had finished a period of five days' detention in a basement room entirely closed off by a heavy metal door, and equipped with a bare mattress, toilet, and running water. Bedding was removed during the day so the children would not destroy it. These boys, both about sixteen, had been punished for running away from the home. The superintendent stated that for the first three days he fed them on bread and water and for the last two days they had a full diet. There was absolutely no occupation for these two active children. When asked if he did not fear the development of bad sex practices in such idle isolation, the superintendent replied that he did not because the boys were too old for anything of that sort.

It is a practice in many homes when children become too difficult simply to transfer them to the jail and relieve the detention home of the problem. Often obstreperous children are never brought to the detention home but sent to the jail in the first place. In one home the matron is called by the police when a boy is arrested and if he is known to be a "bad actor" whom she does not want in the home as a disturbing element, she advises that he should go to jail.

The merit or honor system obtains in 12 homes, but while good in intent, it is not always successful in results. In 1 home with a merit system where points are taken away for punishment, the investigator reported that the children seemed suppressed and afraid to speak.

In another home where a merit system is in effect, the superintendent has no definite standards by which merits and demerits are apportioned, and it is purely a subjective process varying from day to day and from child to child. The children very evidently feel this and do not regard their little merit-books too seriously.

In one city the children have an unusual amount of participation in the management of the home. A system of "honor students" has been worked out and the leaders are responsible for setting an example to the rest of the children, and taking the names of violators of rules to report to the conference the next day. At the conference the boy rises when his name is called, and each line boy or sergeant reports the violations against him. The boy accused may defend himself, and other boys may add to the discussion. If a supervisor complains, the discussion may bring out bad habits of the supervisors. First offenses are usually voted by the conference as meriting a warning, and subsequent offenses are punished. "A day on the line" frequently results, the guilty boys standing in line without participating in group activities. If a boy protests his punishment, it is sometimes omitted on condition that he do "double in a week," that is, have two days on the line if the same offense occurs within a week. If a boy feels strongly that injustice has been done him, he may ask to put on the gloves with another and settle it in a boxing match. During these conferences attempt is made to bring out principles of fair play, manliness, and willingness to "pay the bill" when deserved. The conference, guided by the leader, may vote that a boy needs a "trimming," in which case he is whipped with a strap by one of the supervisors in the presence of the superintendent.

Some question may arise as to the wisdom of this system from a psychological standpoint. Self-government by children while it aids in developing their sense of personal responsibility yet has its own dangers and may even be definitely detrimental. It is difficult enough for adults to be objective in disciplinary methods and infinitely more so for boys in an institutional group. There are personality complications which may make such a project exceedingly precarious in its results. However, it does have the merit of stimulating initiative and a sense of participation.

Whenever there was constant supervision and an adequate pro-



gram, the comment of the superintendent was that there was little need of discipline. In 9 homes supervision is sufficient and in 11 the activity program is adequate. The field investigator states of one such home, "There is evidence to even the casual observer that the morale of the institution is of a high order. The children are clearly contented and secure in a friendly and understanding atmosphere."

Problems of discipline trace back immediately to the personnel of the home. If a staff worker sees himself as a kind of junior penitentiary guard, his disciplinary efforts are dictated by that philosophy. If the officers in the home are trained in the newer psychology to understand the problems of delinquent children and if they see themselves as group leaders and case-workers rather than as punitive officers, the effect on the children is immediate in their happiness as well as their behavior.

#### RECREATION

Recreation and discipline are in inverse ratio in detention-home practice—the more recreation the less discipline is necessary.<sup>9</sup> In only 14 out of the 72 detention units are there trained recreation leaders, and often this provision is made for the boys only. In only 2 detention homes are there Scouts or organized groups, but in these homes the group work is exceptionally good.

In 22 homes the employees, such as matrons or supervisors, promote activities. This plan may or may not be adequate. Usually there is little more than the provision of some equipment, the starting of games, and general oversight of the children's play. In 1 home "supervision" means that occasionally the attendant glances out of the window. In a few homes the children have the advantage of school or neighborhood resources, such as playgrounds, swimming pools, attendance at baseball games, and membership in the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. In one case, only the boys are allowed to use the neighborhood resources, and in 2 homes only the dependent children may take advantage of these.

<sup>9</sup> In 20 homes there is practically no recreation for the children, and in 9 additional homes the delinquents are without provision in this regard. At the time of the visit of the investigators the children were unoccupied in 22 of the homes. In 39 homes they were impressed with the inadequacy of the program, while in 17 the program was fairly adequate or adequate for only a part of the children.

Even though there is little time for supervision, it should be possible to provide children with space and equipment for free play. Yet even this is not done in all of the homes.<sup>10</sup> When the length of detention is considered, it is distressing to see the numbers of children who have no outdoor recreation. Fortunately, delinquent children may be released from detention within a few days. In the case of dependent children who are frequently held for long periods, there is more outdoor recreation.

There is generally inadequate provision for indoor recreation also.<sup>11</sup> Even when there is equipment, there is no surety that the children have access to it. In one of our large detention homes the preschool children were found either seated on benches in a drafty corridor or left in a big bare room with not one plaything in evidence, and no one to direct free play. There were playthings in locked cupboards, which were apparently taken out only on festive occasions.

Planned programs are used extensively in 14 localities. They include "sings," special celebrations, one group entertaining another, story hours, Bible stories, and games. In some of the larger institutions there is a plan for practically every evening. In 19 homes an occasional program only is planned. A planned program is very rare in 32 places, if not completely nonexistent. In 1 home the only regular recreation is the daily broadcast of the baseball game, which probably is primarily for the staff and secondarily for the children whose rooms are near the loud-speaker.

Gardening and pets engage the attention and interest of the children in some homes. Rabbits, guinea pigs, kittens, canaries, parakeets, and other birds are given excellent care in one institution. In another home the little children have pets for which they take com-

<sup>10</sup> In only 31 homes are all of the children allowed free play out of doors; dependents only are permitted to indulge in free play out of doors in 6 additional homes. In 26 homes none of the delinquent children are allowed to go out. In 3 homes out-of-door free play is allowed only occasionally. In 13 homes no children are allowed out of doors to play. In 42 places all of the dependents are allowed out of doors; in 11 they are allowed to go out of doors only occasionally; while in 13 homes dependents are not allowed out at all.

<sup>11</sup> In 12 homes there is some indoor space provided for play and fairly good equipment. In 18, while there is space, there is little equipment. In 27 there is very little play space and in 3 absolutely none. In 6 homes the children are not even allowed free



plete responsibility. It should be possible to have pets in many detention homes, especially those located in the suburbs or in rural sections. Gardening and the care of pets can be effectively used in habit training, with the added advantage of keeping the children happy and occupied.

When thoughtful and resourceful provision is made for recreation, the spirit of the children reflects the difference as does also the attitude of the superintendent and the staff. Much can be accomplished with simple equipment if there is sympathetic direction.

Children in detention have all the needs that other children have, as well as some additional needs. They are in strange surroundings, oftentimes fearful of what the future holds in store for them, and so they need to be occupied so that they will not have time to brood about their troubles. Many of the children have had experiences that should not be communicated to the others, and only by keeping all of the children busy can the sharing of these experiences be prevented. Most children need vigorous exercise and yet play opportunities are inadequate in many homes.

#### THE MORALE OF THE DETENTION HOMES

Children who are locked in single rooms and left to themselves for long periods of time are bored and unhappy. Children who are confined in barren living-rooms, with little supervision and nothing to do, will become destructive and insolent. Children with little opportunity for active work will be restless and depressed.

In many homes the lack of adequate segregation is responsible for poor morale. When there is no opportunity for segregation of delinquents from dependents, children are likely to leave the detention home in a much worse condition than when they entered.

The inadequacy of the personnel in many of the homes tends to create distressing situations. In a few homes the children are cowed and beaten in appearance. Sometimes the untrained guards feel

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play indoors. For amusement indoors it was found that 20 homes have books, games, radios, or victrolas, and a few have pianos. In 5 homes some games, books, and music are provided. In 17 homes there is a very scanty stock of indoor playthings. In 1 home there is a little reading material not too well selected. In 5 homes there is not even a game or a book, and the children have nothing with which to while away the time.

that the children should only be tolerated, and then the detention home becomes a prison.

Fortunately, there are detention homes where the morale is excellent. The children appear happy, healthy, and busily occupied. A few homes have trained leadership and the effect on the staff and the children is patent to the observer.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### RELATION OF THE PUBLIC DETENTION HOME TO THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

The relationship of the detention home to the public authorities and to the juvenile court determines many matters of appropriation and policy.

#### BUDGETS

Budgets, of course, are of prime importance. In 57 of the 63 areas studied, budgets are prepared for boards of supervisors or city councils. In a few homes the county pays the bills, but no budget is made for the detention home as such. In the communities where a budget is prepared, the financial responsibility and control are vested in appointed boards in 16 places, in the juvenile court in 11, and in the board of supervisors or the city council in 26. The board of health, the department of public welfare, or even a public children's agency may have financial responsibility. Disbursement is by the purchasing agent of the county or city in 42 areas, and the superintendent has no cash and rarely knows the amounts expended. In 9 communities the superintendent makes the purchases and the county pays the bills. In 4 additional cases the superintendent is allowed to charge to the county fresh foods from specified stores, but other purchases are by requisition from the purchasing agent. In 4 areas the county pays certain expenses and a per diem per child.

#### APPROPRIATIONS

Appropriations are most commonly made to the juvenile court (23 areas), the detention home being considered as a part of the court. In 3 places the court and the detention-home accounts are not kept separate, but in most communities there is separate accounting. In 7 places the appropriation is to another agency, the detention home being considered a part of that agency. In only 27 places is the appropriation made direct to the detention home.

The appropriation is from the general tax fund of the county or city in 59 areas. In a few communities there is no special allocation, the detention-home expenses being considered as a part of the general county expense. In 2 areas the detention home receives a specified percentage of the taxes. In a few areas there are small receipts from various sources. In 1 case \$1.00 per day is received for all children other than court cases; in 3 counties a charge is made for children from other counties or cities; in 1 city deportation cases are paid for by public authorities; the state pays for its wards in 2 detention homes; some donations are received in 1 community; in another a few parents pay for the care of their children.

In several areas the detention home is burdened by excessive charges for political reasons. The rent of a very inadequate firetrap which the state board of public welfare refused to license, a building disapproved by the fire warden and most unsatisfactory to the juvenile court, is \$300 a month, and no one can persuade the county commissioners to give up this home. In another city great mystery surrounds the item of rent. The chief probation officer said, "Ask the county commissioners." The judge said, "I think it is around \$400 per month." The superintendent of the detention home said that it was \$450 per month. The published financial statement of the county auditor gave \$5,850 per year, an excessive amount, as the home was inadequate, poorly located, and most unsatisfactory for the care of children. The physician attached to the detention home in one of our larger cities has a sinecure office at a salary of \$1,800, which savors strongly of political preferment. He can hardly be said to function at all, as he is supposed only to call at the institution once a day for examination of any children showing signs of illness. In practice this service has apparently been partly reduced to telephone calls.

The expenditures for detention homes for the fiscal year 1929-30 are presented in Table VII, which shows the salaries paid and the other operating expenses.

The impossibility of making even a rough estimate of the per capita cost per day is clear from the fact that for the 63 areas it was necessary to append forty-four footnotes to the table to explain expenditures and salaries. This depicts the difficulty of attempting

TABLE VII

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR  
1929-30, SHOWING SALARIES PAID AND OPERATING EXPENSES

AREA SERVED	EXPENDITURES		
	Total	Salaries	Other Operating Expenses
Total.....	\$1,954,722.29	\$981,799.73	\$875,870.49
<i>Alabama:</i>			
Jefferson (Birmingham).....	\$ 21,525.98a	\$ 8,689.34a	\$ 12,836.64
Mobile (Mobile).....	15,950.99b	5,220.00b	10,730.99
<i>Arkansas:</i>			
Pulaski (Little Rock).....	14,391.78c	2,280.00c	12,111.78
<i>California:</i>			
Alameda (Oakland).....	53,148.60d	19,800.00d	33,348.60
Los Angeles (Los Angeles).....	256,665.07e	131,793.97e	124,871.10
San Francisco (San Francisco)...	47,304.39f	20,700.00f	26,604.39
<i>Colorado:</i>			
Denver (Denver).....	9,000.00g	2,480.00g	6,520.00
<i>Connecticut:</i>			
City of Hartford.....	6,056.00	2,556.00	3,500.00
New Haven (New Haven).....	13,930.00	5,215.00	8,715.00
<i>Delaware:</i>			
New Castle (Wilmington).....	6,000.00	2,280.00	3,720.00
<i>District of Columbia:</i>			
Washington.....	32,651.14h	12,668.11h	19,983.03h
<i>Georgia:</i>			
Fulton (Atlanta).....	11,227.13	7,700.00	3,527.13
<i>Illinois:</i>			
Cook (Chicago).....	255,860.00i	179,360.00i	76,500.00i
Sangamon (Springfield).....	16,265.37	N.r.	N.r.
<i>Indiana:</i>			
Allen (Fort Wayne).....	5,400.48j	900.00j	4,500.48j
Lake (Gary).....	10,022.89	4,740.00	5,282.89
Marion (Indianapolis).....	14,263.65	5,880.00	8,383.65
<i>Iowa:</i>			
Polk (Des Moines).....	N.r.	N.r.	N.r.
<i>Kentucky:</i>			
Jefferson (Louisville).....	25,994.65k	11,458.10k	14,536.55k
<i>Louisiana:</i>			
Orleans (New Orleans).....	25,000.00l	14,026.49l	10,973.51l
Caddo (Shreveport).....	12,500.00	1,392.00	11,108.00

## JUVENILE DETENTION

TABLE VII—Continued

AREA SERVED	EXPENDITURES		
	Total	Salaries	Other Operating Expenses
<i>Michigan:</i>			
Genesee (Flint).....	\$ 15,503.73m	\$ 4,709.60m	\$ 10,794.13
Kent (Grand Rapids).....	31,430.28n	13,587.90n	17,842.38
Oakland (Pontiac).....	52,746.45o	21,888.73o	30,857.72
Wayne (Detroit).....	271,863.95p	160,406.41p	111,457.54
<i>Missouri:</i>			
Jackson (Kansas City).....	19,178.00q	15,900.00q	3,278.00
<i>Nebraska:</i>			
Douglas (Omaha).....	20,144.23	7,066.00	13,078.23
Lancaster (Lincoln).....	3,755.13	N.r.	N.r.
<i>New Jersey:</i>			
Atlantic (Atlantic City).....	20,000.00	7,724.00	12,276.00
Camden (Camden).....	26,543.28r	12,060.53r	14,482.75
Essex (Newark).....	52,000.00s	N.r.	N.r.
Hudson (Jersey City).....	95,000.00t	59,753.42t	35,246.58
<i>New York:</i>			
City of Buffalo.....	12,061.52u	9,000.00u	3,061.52u
Oneida (Utica).....	4,000.00v	1,800.00v	2,200.00v
Onondaga (Syracuse).....	19,510.00w	11,510.00w	8,000.00w
Westchester (Yonkers).....	10,385.17x	4,187.52x	6,197.65x
<i>North Carolina:</i>			
Wake (Raleigh).....	3,308.00y	1,740.00y	1,568.00y
<i>Ohio:</i>			
Cuyahoga (Cleveland).....	75,793.94z	39,062.99z	36,730.95
Franklin (Columbus).....	14,100.53A	5,680.00A	8,420.53
Hamilton (Cincinnati).....	8,928.00B	3,666.92B	5,261.08
Lucas (Toledo).....	17,000.70C	4,111.00C	12,889.70C
Mahoning (Youngstown).....	9,160.00	4,944.00	4,216.00
Montgomery (Dayton).....	10,987.73D	N.r.	N.r.
Summit (Akron).....	15,500.00	6,000.00	9,500.00
<i>Oregon:</i>			
Multnomah (Portland).....	12,000.00E	6,000.00E	6,000.00
<i>Pennsylvania:</i>			
Allegheny (Pittsburgh).....	62,222.14F	38,707.14F	23,515.00
Lackawanna (Scranton).....	11,009.04G	8,360.49	2,648.55G
Philadelphia (Philadelphia DH).....	63,475.00H	40,375.00H	23,100.00
<i>South Carolina:</i>			
City of Columbia.....	9,044.15	2,860.00	6,184.15
<i>Tennessee:</i>			
City of Memphis.....	I	I	I
Knox (Knoxville).....	8,235.14J	2,731.92J	5,503.22



TABLE VII—Continued

AREA SERVED	EXPENDITURES		
	Total	Salaries	Other Operating Expenses
<i>Utah:</i>			
Salt Lake City.....	\$14,942.08	\$ 5,736.76	\$ 9,205.32
<i>Virginia:</i>			
City of Norfolk.....	5,530.60K	1,800.00	3,730.60
City of Richmond.....	11,078.57L	3,623.34L	7,455.23
City of Roanoke.....	10,620.00M	N.r.	N.r.
<i>Washington:</i>			
King (Seattle).....	15,502.00N	7,050.00N	8,452.00
Pierce (Tacoma).....	2,546.64O	1,700.00	846.64O
Spokane (Spokane).....	7,814.83P	4,052.05P	3,762.78
<i>West Virginia:</i>			
Cabell (Huntington).....	3,423.84	N.r.	N.r.
Marion (Fairmount).....	7,691.02	1,995.00	5,696.02
Ohio (Wheeling).....	4,035.48Q	1,600.00	2,435.48Q
<i>Wisconsin:</i>			
Milwaukee (Milwaukee).....	39,264.00R	19,590.00R	19,674.00
Racine (Racine).....	4,229.00	1,680.00	2,549.00

a. Does not include four teachers paid by board of education and one gardener.

b. Does not include two teachers paid by board of education.

c. Does not include one teacher and an interne and nurse from county hospital.

d. Does not include two part-time doctors, two part-time dentists, and one dental nurse, nor the part-time services of a psychiatrist and psychologist paid on a fee basis. It includes one part-time recreation leader.

e. Does not include eleven teachers paid by board of education. It includes three doctors, one dentist, two psychologists, two psychiatrists, fourteen registered nurses, one psychiatric social worker, and two recreation leaders.

f. Does not include two part-time physicians and two full-time and two part-time teachers. It does include one registered nurse.

g. Does not include one teacher.

h. Nine months only. Does not include two part-time physicians.

i. Does not include one psychiatrist, one full-time and one part-time psychologist, one psychiatric social worker, one clinic manager, one stenographer, ten teachers, and one part-time school principal. It does include one part-time physician, one part-time dentist, five nurses, and two recreation leaders. It includes maintenance and telephone service of the juvenile-court building.

j. Does not include one school-teacher. Home for girls only.

k. Laundry and medical costs paid by Ormsby village, who have offices in detention home.

l. Does not include psychiatrist, psychologist, and medical officer on staff of boys' home. Also does not include five school-teachers. Home for boys only.

m. Does not include one school-teacher.

n. Does not include one part-time dentist, four school-teachers, one part-time music teacher, one part-time physical-education teacher. It includes one part-time doctor.

o. Does not include one part-time physician and dentist. It does include one registered nurse and two teachers.

p. Does not include medical, psychiatric, and psychological staff, which is paid for by the juvenile court. It does include seventeen nurses and seven teachers.

q. It includes one part-time physician and one school-teacher.

r. Does not include one school-teacher, one part-time art teacher. It does include one part-time physician, a dentist, and a psychologist-endocrinologist.

TABLE VII—*Continued*

- s. Does not include salary of a part-time doctor and a part-time dentist.
- t. Does not include salary of five part-time doctors and a part-time dentist. It does include one part-time doctor, one registered nurse, and three school-teachers.
- u. Does not include a part-time psychologist and physician, two school-teachers, janitors, gardeners, and cleaning women. Also does not include heat, light.
- v. Does not include a part-time doctor. The county pays heat, light, and gas and thirty-five cents per meal.
- w. Does not include salaries of a part-time doctor, a part-time psychiatrist, and one school-teacher. It does include food and heat used at the cottage for venereal cases.
- x. Does not include a part-time medical and recreation worker. Food, laundry, and medical services supplied at cost by county hospital. Home for girls only.
- y. Vegetables, milk, pork, and eggs are products of the farm.
- z. Does not include four school-teachers and one part-time psychologist. It does include a part-time doctor and a part-time psychiatrist.
  - A. Does not include two part-time doctors.
  - B. Does not include two part-time doctors, but includes one part-time teacher.
  - C. Does not include a part-time doctor and one teacher. Does not include heat, rent, and janitor.
  - D. Does not include a part-time doctor.
  - E. Does not include two teachers.
  - F. Includes one nurse and two teachers.
  - G. Does not include heat and light.
  - H. Includes two full-time psychiatrists, two psychologists, and one nurse.
  - I. Costs mingled with juvenile-court expenses.
  - J. Does not include one teacher.
  - K. The state pays for the food.
  - L. Does not include one teacher.
  - M. Costs mingled with juvenile-court expenses.
  - N. Does not include one school-teacher. Physician is paid on fee basis.
  - O. Does not include heat.
  - P. Does not include one school-teacher.
  - Q. Does not include food.
  - R. Does not include a part-time doctor, a psychiatrist, and a psychiatric social worker; and also does not include a full-time teacher and a full-time nurse.

to compare communities with variable standards and other local factors. Some homes, even though small, include a competent staff and provision for medical care, educational and recreational activities. Other homes really serve as juvenile prisons, simply providing safekeeping, food, and lodging. The direct expenditures for detention homes in 61 areas were \$1,954,722.29; but in order to get a complete picture of the cost of detention homes, one would have to consider the services paid for out of other budgets. Very few of the homes have adequate medical care paid for from the detention-home budget, the cost of this care being frequently met by some other agency such as the juvenile court, the local hospitals, and even private doctors donating their services.

#### SALARIES

Several communities allocate wholly inadequate amounts for salaries. While the average expenditure for this purpose is roughly

50 per cent of the total, certain homes with competent personnel spend a much larger proportion for salaries, and other areas spend a pitifully small amount. Three hundred and forty-three employees of detention homes receive a salary plus full maintenance: 300 receive a salary plus meals when on duty; 72 receive a salary only; 6 receive

TABLE VIII\*

ANNUAL SALARIES OF SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES,  
CLASSIFIED BY THE POPULATION OF THE AREAS SERVED BY  
THE DETENTION HOMES

POPULATION	NUMBER OF AREAS							
	Salaries of Superintendents							
	Total	Less than \$900	\$900 to \$1,499	\$1,500 to \$2,099	\$2,100 to \$2,699	\$2,700 to \$3,599	\$3,600 to \$4,799	\$4,800 and Over
Total. ....*	59	5	23	14	9	3	2	3
Less than 100,000. ....	7	2	3†	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
100,000-199,999. ....	16	2	12‡	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
200,000-299,999. ....	11	1	4	3§	2‡§	.....	1	.....
300,000-399,999. ....	6	.....	2	3	.....	1	.....	.....
400,000-499,999. ....	7	.....	1	4	2	.....	.....	.....
500,000 and over. ....	12	.....	1	2	3	2	1¶	3‡**

\* Full maintenance is given in all cases except where otherwise specified.

† Husband and wife receive specified salary.

‡ Maintenance of superintendent and family.

§ Husband and wife together received specified salary, which included maintenance of entire family.

|| No maintenance.

¶ Meals only.

\*\* One meal only per day.

maintenance only; and in 27 cases there is no record of the salaries. Maintenance in many cases includes the family of the worker, particularly the superintendent. The salaries of the superintendents of detention homes, classified by the size of the area from which the children are drawn, are presented in Table VIII.

It will be noted that in 5 communities the superintendent receives less than \$900 per year, and that 1 of these areas had a population of more than 200,000 persons. Full maintenance is provided in these cases, but even so this is insufficient remuneration for such an im-

portant position. Twenty-three superintendents receive a salary between \$900 and \$1,499 per year. In one instance this small salary covered the work of both husband and wife. One county with a population of almost 600,000 pays \$1,080 and maintenance for the matron in charge of the detention home. It is no wonder that the report of the investigator showed the children badly cared for and dismissed in a dirty condition. The community is disgusted with conditions there, and juvenile-court officials are loath to take strangers to the home, usually stating that it is in quarantine.

It is significant that in only 12 communities are the superintendents paid \$200 per month or more for this most important and difficult position. Oakland County, Michigan, recently completed a modern, well-equipped, and attractive home, and it is noteworthy that they pay \$300 a month to the new superintendent chosen by the judge on the basis of his qualifications. Broadly speaking, the amount paid to the superintendent reflects the standards of the detention home.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF THE JUVENILE COURT TO THE DETENTION HOME

The relationship between the juvenile court and the detention home ranges from a merely co-operative one to full jurisdiction of the court over the home.<sup>1</sup> In some areas the court appoints the staff, but has no control over the budget; while in others the court does not make appointments but has control of the budget. In 11 areas there is no connection with the juvenile court, little control, and no co-operative policy as to finances or appointments.

<sup>1</sup> Of the 21 detention homes which are under juvenile-court supervision and jurisdiction, 5 courts make the appointments but do not control the budget; 2 make the appointments but are not interested in the detention home; 14 control appointments, and the budget is a part of the court budget.

In 5 areas there is little control and no connection with the court which makes the appointments; in 1 area the relationship is very slight, even though the appointments and finances are a concern of the court.

The 25 detention homes where there is a co-operative relationship but no court supervision may be grouped as follows: The court makes appointments in 10 cases where there is a financial connection between the court and the home, and in 4 where there is no financial relationship; in 2 cases the court has no control over appointments but finances are a part of the court budget; and in 9 homes the court has no voice in either finances or appointments.



In one-third of the 63 detention-home areas it may be noted that the juvenile court has a supervisory relationship to the detention home; in slightly more than one-third of the homes there is a co-operative but independent relationship, while in slightly less than one third of the cases there is no connection with the court or control by the court. In several instances the juvenile-court judge expressed great distress at the conditions in the detention home, but felt powerless to correct the difficulties. In a few cases the judge expressed himself as not being interested enough even to visit the home.

Juvenile courts have various methods of checking on the detention-home population.<sup>2</sup> In one county the chief probation officer has a report on his desk every morning, which gives the name of each child in the home, the date of admission, and the reason for detention. If a child is held several days, the probation officer in charge of the case must give a good reason. Detention periods are short in this home. Lack of co-ordination between the court and the detention home is sometimes evident. In a large city a girl was held for two weeks before anyone in the court knew where she was. The probation officer himself advised the mother to advertise for her in the newspapers, but the mother located the child in the public detention home. A few homes depend upon informal contacts between the probation department and the detention staff. This is frequently unsatisfactory, but sometimes co-operation is very close. Generally in those homes in which there is a daily checkup by the court the time of detention is shorter than where the checkup is casual.

Another factor affecting the relationship of the court and the home is the use of the home for disciplinary treatment rather than strictly for detention. Many judges commit children to the home after hearing, for varying periods of supervision. Sometimes this is punitive rather than corrective in its aspect. As this problem is discussed elsewhere, it is mentioned here only as it complicates the administrative difficulties of the home, and greatly increases the demands upon the staff.

<sup>2</sup> In 39 homes a daily report is sent to the court; in 1 home a weekly report is sent; in 8 homes there is no method of reporting; in 10 homes there is dependence on informal contacts of the probation and detention-home staff; in 5 homes there is close co-operation between the two staffs.

The relationship between the juvenile court and the detention home runs into something deeper than administrative direction or co-operation. The length of detention is a part of the case-work responsibility of the probation department. Similarly, policies of admission and release are primarily case-work policies. Detention practices inevitably reflect the authority and standards of the juvenile court.



## CHAPTER IX

### DETENTION IN PLACES OTHER THAN PUBLIC DETENTION HOMES

Children are detained in private shelters, private and public children's orphanages and homes, hospitals, almshouses, jails and police stations, and in foster-homes. Generally the detained children in these institutions and homes constitute a small part of their population. These children are mostly taken at some inconvenience and with some misgivings, the agency feeling that it is unwise to mix them with children regularly admitted for long-time care.

#### PRIVATE SHELTERS

Fifty-two areas use private shelters for detention but this is the prevailing method in New York State only. As shown in Table II, 16,639 of the 18,659 children detained in 41 private shelters were in shelters in New York State. Of this number 13,954 were cared for in the five homes of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in New York City. The number detained may be grouped by areas as shown in Table IX. The two largest shelters were those of the Brooklyn society with 4,667 admissions, and the Manhattan society with 5,577 admissions.

TABLE IX

Number Detained	Number of Areas
Under 25 children .....	15
25-99 .....	12
100-499 .....	8
Over 500 .....	6

Several different agencies have authority of admission and release. Boys and girls held for the Children's Court of New York City must be produced for the first court session after their apprehension. This regulation is carefully observed by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which has the responsibility of detention.

*Types of cases accepted.*—In addition to the delinquent children detained for the court, the S.P.C.C. and the Humane Society discover many neglected and mistreated children, and their shelters have more cases of this type than do the other detention agencies. Dependent children are cared for in 24 shelters; no dependents in 4; venereally infected girls in 2; non-venereal cases only, in 10; material witnesses in 14; and in 12 those children who are likely to be committed to the society for placement.

*The physical plant.*—There is a wide variation in the appearance, efficiency, and equipment of the shelters. In certain of the New York boroughs the S.P.C.C. has probably the highest standards of all such homes. However, some of the shelters are very poorly equipped and inadequately staffed.

Most of the buildings are attractive. The entrance rooms of one shelter are bright and pleasing, definitely designed to alleviate the fears of the incoming child. The setting in most instances is good. However, one home is in a neighborhood with so much coal smoke that the babies' nostrils are black after their naps. About one-third of the homes were especially built for the purpose, and these are generally well planned. The others are remodeled houses, more or less satisfactory. Some of the homes look like jails, and a few have high fences or walls, so that the children are shut in and cannot be observed from the street. In one or two instances these walls are so constructed as to make them a part of the architecture. Approximately half of the shelters have adequate playgrounds, while the others have no ground or very small yards. About half have adequate toilet facilities and fire protection.

*Staff.*—There is great diversity in the appearance and equipment of the shelters. A poor appearance usually is paralleled by poor personnel, and generally in these places the children are held for long periods of time. Attractive buildings which are comfortably furnished, cheerful, and homelike generally have good personnel who expedite the release of the children. By and large, the staffs seem to be better than those of most detention homes. A considerable number are professional workers. Six shelters have a medical staff; 2 have a psychiatric staff; 2 have psychologists; and 8 have registered nurses.

*Segregation.*—The court children are not kept separate from the others in any instance. However, in 7 shelters there is a receiving section for all children, and in 3 others, for girls only. In several of the homes only one type of child is taken.<sup>1</sup> Seven had complete segregation of boys and girls, although there is generally no segregation by sex in the daytime.

*Medical facilities.*—Twenty-two shelters provide routine medical examination, 6 have doctors who come on a regular schedule, and 15 have the doctor come only as needed. There is generally no provision for the care of sick children, but 9 shelters have isolation rooms or infirmaries. One has an infirmary of thirteen sections, each containing three beds. The superintendent finds that this is not entirely satisfactory, since a child with a contagious disease keeps two additional beds vacant. In all except 2 homes children with venereal infections are sent to the hospital. In 5 shelters children are frequently held for medical examination and treatment, and in 8, a few children are occasionally so held. In 5, no children are detained for this reason.

Some children are given mental tests. In 9 shelters many of the children are tested, while in 18 only a few children are examined. One has an observation house, where each new child has a complete physical examination. If he remains longer than two or three days, he has a Stanford Achievement Test. If entered especially for study, he has a psychological and possibly a psychiatric diagnosis. Any child brought back to the shelter more than once has a complete study—physical, psychological, and social.

*Educational program.*—Generally there is better provision for school in the shelters than in the detention homes, although some children are given no schooling whatsoever. Of the 11 shelters which provide school, 6 have full-time and 5 have half-time school. In 1 shelter there is school for the delinquents, and the dependents attend school in the city. In 10, the children attend the local public school. In 5, there is no provision for school; and in 1, the only education

<sup>1</sup> In 5 shelters there are only dependent children, while in 1 there are only delinquent children; delinquent girls are segregated from dependents in 2 shelters, and in 2 others there is segregation only at night; in 7 homes there is complete segregation of dependents and delinquents. In 4 shelters there are only girls, and in 1, only boys; in 14 there is no segregation by sex in the daytime while in 7 there is segregation always.

consists in having each boy learn one thing daily from the *Book of Knowledge*.

*Employment of the children.*—In 25 of the shelters the children assist with the housework, in 2 of them the duties are like those in a private home; in 1, the children have heavy work; in 6, the work is moderately heavy; and in 13, the work is light. In 2, the girls have a moderate amount of work while the boys have very light work; and in 1, the work is planned primarily for teaching the children.

*Discipline.*—One shelter keeps the boys busy with gardening, but the matron finds a serious problem of discipline in the winter, for the boys have no school and have nothing to do. In a few places<sup>2</sup> there is an adequate program and discipline is said to be no problem; in some others the children are under constant supervision. One shelter has an unusual degree of co-ordinated supervision. A supervisor is assigned for hall duty so that children may not connive beforehand to be excused from class in order to meet in the toilet or elsewhere. Supervisors are instructed to remain where they can have a full view of the roof when children are playing there. Girls go to the dining-rooms first and are seated before the boys arrive, and they leave before the boys are dismissed. Girls and boys are never in the halls together.

In one shelter the superintendent attempts to break the spirit of the new boys by sneering at them and browbeating them. He often yells at the boys, makes them admit their faults, and publicly ascribes similar delinquencies to their parents. Other methods of discipline include sending children to bed or to their rooms until they are ready to return to the group; placing children in barred detention rooms; whipping them and reasoning with them.

One matron puts the children on their honor and lets them go out to the library or to the movies. She shows the newcomer the fire-escape and tells him that he can get out at any time, but she asks him to go at once if he is that kind of boy, as she does not want to grow to like him and then have him run away. No child has run away since she began this practice, although there were several escapes before.

<sup>2</sup> In 6 shelters there is an adequate program and discipline is no problem; in 4, the children are under constant supervision; in 10, consultation and reasoning are used to control the children; 3 deprive the children of privileges; 1, of food; and in 3, children are occasionally whipped. In 1, there is a merit or honor system; in 6, children are sent to bed or to their rooms; and in 4, children are detained in a room with barred windows. In another, unruly children are sent away from the shelter.



One private shelter is a cottage in a well-known institution for problem boys. This institution has an excellent program for the regular attendants but refuses detained boys a share in it. Consequently they have no school and very restricted recreation. One excuse given was that the detained boys are held but a short time and it would not be advisable to bring new boys into the more permanent group. As a matter of record the average detention period is 19 days and one boy was held there for 235 days.

*Recreation.*—Four shelters only have trained recreation leaders. Outdoor and indoor play space is nonexistent or very restricted in nearly half of the homes and the play equipment is adequate in very few. There is provision for such indoor recreation as music, reading, and games in most places although the selection may be poor. Programs are planned in many homes, and 2 have pets for the children. In 8 shelters the children have outside resources, such as baseball games, the Y.M.C.A., or the school playground. In 5,<sup>3</sup> there is practically no recreation for some of the children. In 4 recreation is said to be of the "family" type. These are small institutions, and the children are taken out by the staff to the movies, to picnics, and to church. They enjoy games in the home and read books from the public library.

*Relation to the court.*—The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children won a court battle on the point of inspection by state authorities. Consequently no supervision is given them by public authorities and the court has no power to affect the policies or administration of the shelters. Some method of checkup has been worked out by the courts using private shelters in several cases,<sup>4</sup> but in many there is no satisfactory system.

*Financial policy.*—Various financial arrangements are made for

<sup>3</sup> Only 12 of the 28 shelters have adequate outdoor play space. The outdoor equipment is adequate in only 3 shelters, fair in 9, and in 16 there is little or none. So far as indoor recreation is concerned, only 6 have adequate provision, 10 have a fair amount of space, and 12 have little or none. Ten have good indoor equipment, 5 fair, 11 a little, and 2 have none.

<sup>4</sup> In 15 areas there is no checkup and no authority for inspection, but the children are brought promptly to court; in 1 area a list is sent weekly to the probation officer; in another, the probation officer places the child in the shelter and visits as he desires; in 3, the court keeps a list of the children in the shelter; in 2, the probation officer is superintendent; while in 6 there is close co-operation between the court and shelter officials.

the care of the detained children. These arrangements include complete financial responsibility for the institution; lump-sum payments in 17 areas; per capita per diem payments in 4; payment of operating expenses and salaries in 1; and a lump-sum donation plus a per capita per diem payment in 6. In the other areas there was no record obtained as to the financial arrangement.

#### PRIVATE ORPHANAGES AND HOMES

From a numerical standpoint at least, the use of private orphanages and homes for detention is not important. Included in this classification are Houses of the Good Shepherd, Florence Crittenton Homes, denominational orphanages, homes for Negro children, and homes of various private children's agencies. These institutions are

TABLE X

Number Detained	Number of Areas
Under 25 children.....	21
25-99.....	13
100-200.....	3
Over 500.....	2

not primarily interested in temporary detention and, in fact, often protest taking such cases.

There are 57 areas reporting this type of detention, but the number of admissions, 2,586 children, was obtainable from only 39 areas. The number of areas reporting specified numbers of children is shown in Table X. The 2 areas reporting large numbers of detentions are Brooklyn and Manhattan, New York. These 1,181 admissions are generally remands from the children's court to private agencies in New York City. In the majority of cases these children are later committed to the institutions by the court. No one agency has many detained children at any one time, but they are likely to be disturbing elements in the smooth running of the institution.

*Types of cases detained.*—Nine of the homes have a mixed population and the rest restrict their intake to certain types of cases. Five are for Negro children, 5 for dependents only, 4 for delinquents only, 1 for problem children, 2 for boys only, 1 for venereal cases only, and 2 for infants exclusively. The Houses of the Good Shepherd and the



Florence Crittenton Homes care for delinquent girls, many of whom are pregnant or venereally infected.

*The physical plant.*—The majority of the orphanages visited by the investigators are adequately housed, with outdoor space for recreation, though some are of the old barren institutional type.

*Segregation.*—In only 3 of the 29 homes visited is there a receiving section where children are segregated for medical examination. In but 4 of the homes is there an attempt made to keep the delinquent from the dependent children. However, some homes care for only one type of child. In 4 homes the court children are kept separate from the other children, in what is practically solitary confinement. In a few homes the supervision is so good that the problem of segregation is relatively unimportant.

*Medical facilities.*—Routine medical examinations<sup>5</sup> are given in most of the homes. Some use clinics, others have the doctor come regularly, while the majority call the doctor as needed. Several homes do not accept venereally infected children, and others send them away when discovered. Nine of the Houses of the Good Shepherd and the Florence Crittenton Homes treat cases of venereal disease. In most communities there is inadequate provision for these girls, and when the detention home is not equipped to care for them, they are sent to these private institutions, or to the county hospital where they may be in contact with prostitutes. There are staff nurses in some homes, or nurses call regularly. A few have infirmaries or isolation wards. Health and hygiene are considered in most orphanages and homes. In 7 homes some psychiatric and psychometric examinations are given.

In one Negro home the health situation was distressing to the investigator. The toilet facilities and the heating were very bad. The director of the home said that playing in the band cured all cases of "weak lungs," and that general hard work was best for everybody. Some of the children appeared to be "ailing" and one boy with an aggravated nervous affliction seemed to be in a serious condition.

<sup>5</sup> There are routine medical examinations in 17 homes; 6 use clinics, 3 have the doctor come regularly, and 14 have the doctor come as needed. In 9 homes venereal disease is treated, while in 4 homes the infected children are sent away. In 11 homes venereally infected children are not accepted. In 3 homes the visiting nurse calls regularly, and 4 homes have nurses on the staff.

*Educational program.*—Nine institutions have no provision for school (2 of them are for infants only), 7 have school in the home, and 7 send the children out to the public school. In only 1 is there a public-school teacher, but in several places the children are taught by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. In 2 homes there is vocational training, and 1 home has a kindergarten under trained supervision.

*Employment of the children.*—In some of the institutions the children may be given too much and too hard work. In 4 homes they do laundry work for hotels and heavy work on the farms. The Negro home referred to previously has several farms on which the children work very hard. This same institution gives much time to band practice for children of all ages, for the superintendent depends upon the bands for publicity in solicitation of funds. One band made a trip to England, and the week before the investigator's visit a band of 50 children had been sent to Florida. In 11 homes the children have a moderate amount of work to do; in 4, the work is very light; and in 2, there is no work at all. In 1 of the Houses of the Good Shepherd the girls help the Sisters in the raising of canaries for sale.

*Discipline.*—Discipline is made effective in various ways. In 3 homes unruly children are sent to bed and in 5 they are held in detention rooms. Privileges are removed in 6; the children are governed by consultation and reasoning or perhaps by the religious influence of the Sisters in 9. Whipping is permitted in 3 homes and definitely forbidden in 1 home. In 1 place the naughty child is given extra work to do. About half of the homes have barred windows in certain rooms and others are surrounded by high walls. In a Negro institution the children are frightened into good behavior. Here there is a punishment system described by the investigator as follows:

In the basement of the old buildings are several cell rooms which look more like stable compartments. They have dirt floors and no light. There is a padlocked gate of heavy boards. Boys are placed here for some unusual offense. A room upstairs, which is secure, although without bars, is used for the girls. Boys held in detention who are obstreperous are kept in this cell-like place, which is the worst I have ever seen. No bench, bed, or chair is in this place. It may have been used to hold animals for dissecting in the old medical school days.

*Recreation.*—Eleven of the orphanages have large yards. Five have good outdoor equipment, 5 have fair equipment, in 2 there is

very little outdoor recreation, and in 2 there is none at all. Six have fair indoor space for recreation while 7 have good space, and 1 has a swimming pool in a special building. One institution for problem boys has fine playing fields, trained recreation leaders, and an exceptionally good band. The indoor equipment in 5 homes is good while in 7 it is only fair. In 7 institutions programs are planned for both outdoor and indoor events. One institution has a splendid workshop for the boys. In 3, there is no supervision of recreation; while in 5, supervision is good. In 16, the children have opportunity for free play. Four homes have no provision for recreation.

*Relation to the court.*—In the majority of cases (15 homes) there is co-operation between the court and the institution, but no control by the court. In 7 localities the probation officer makes investigations for the home; in 1, the probation officer is the superintendent. In 3 places the court makes remands to the home. In 1 place the court keeps a list of the children in the home; and in another reports are sent regularly to the court. In 1 case the court disapproved of a Negro orphanage, yet found it necessary to use it in emergencies.

*Financial policy.*—Of the 29 orphanages and homes visited, 10 receive public subsidies, usually a lump-sum contribution for their work as orphanages rather than for the care of detained children. Ten are paid on a per capita basis for the care of children held by the court, and 9 receive no payment from the municipality. The practice of giving lump-sum contributions to private agencies, or even a per capita payment, has many possibilities of abuse.<sup>6</sup> Without supervision by state authorities, and a sound policy of admission and release, the likelihood that children will be held for the subsidy is apparent.

#### PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT, DELINQUENT, OR PROBLEM CHILDREN

Public institutions for children are sometimes used for detention. As reported in Table II, there were 964 children held in public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children in 19 of the 29 communities in which this form of detention is used. These in-

<sup>6</sup> For a thoughtful, able discussion of the problem of public subsidies to private agencies, see Arlien Johnson, *Public Policy and Private Charities*, "Social Service Monographs" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), No. 16.

stitutions include county homes for dependent children, a home for infants and preschool children, county schools for delinquent girls or boys, and state correctional schools. As compared with the total number of children detained, this form of detention is not important, but from the standpoint of child care the method is far from satisfactory. The mingling of detained children with those committed for care is not desirable, especially in institutions for delinquents.

*Admission and release.*—Detention admissions to these institutions are authorized by several agencies besides the court; by the juvenile police in 1 locality; the probation office in 9; the police in 7; and the welfare bureau in 4.

*The physical plant.*—Of the 18 institutions studied by the investigators, the smallest has one acre of ground and the largest seven hundred acres, so the problem of outdoor recreation, light, and air is not complicated by lack of space. On the whole they are superior to public detention homes in physical appearance and comfort. The general public expects children to remain for long periods in such institutions and therefore takes more interest in making them comfortable and attractive. Frequently luncheon clubs, lodges, churches, and women's clubs take an interest in the local children's home, but disregard the detention home.

*Staff.*—In some of these public institutions the employees include those who would otherwise be public charges. In one home a boy of eighteen, described as "harmless and helpful" works around the place. In another home for dependents, well equipped and with very high standards in most respects, 16 older girls help with the children and the general work. Three of these girls, who are on the "petty pay-roll," were assigned to this home for dependents from the house of correction. Several others have been months and even years working at the home, although they were committed to the state school for the feeble-minded, the commitment being stayed. The use of mentally defective girls and women to care for dependent children is certainly not according to good child welfare practice. This same home has in it a young man, now twenty years of age, who has been under the care of this agency for ten years, having been brought in on a petition alleging feeble-mindedness.

*Segregation.*—Little provision for segregation is made except to



separate boys and girls at night, to isolate the sick from the well, and occasionally to keep the delinquents and the dependents apart. In only one institution are the detained children segregated from the committed group. They are kept virtual prisoners and are not allowed to enter at all into the full program for the committed delinquent boys.

*Medical facilities.*—Routine medical examinations are provided in less than half of the institutions, and in the other cases the children see the doctor only when they appear to be ill. There is thus a possibility in 11 of the homes that children with venereal infection may mingle with the others. In very few instances is there provision for psychiatric examination. The institutions are generally dependent for mental tests upon those given in the public schools.

*Educational program.*—In only 2 of the 18 homes studied is there no provision for school, and in 5 of the institutions there is some form of vocational work for the children.

*Employment of the children.*—In most of the institutions the employees do the heavy work and the children the light work. Nevertheless the size of some of the farms, and the number on the staff, make it quite apparent that the children must do a considerable amount. Institution heads frequently express pride that the farm has been brought from a rundown condition to excellent shape. Interest in the progress of the farm sometimes eclipses interest in the progress of the children.

*Discipline.*—As in the public detention homes, various methods of discipline are in use. Detention in "cells" occurs in 5 homes, withdrawal to their rooms or to bed in 4, and occasional whippings are used in 2 of the homes. Other methods of control include consultation and reasoning in 2, restriction of privileges in 8 homes and of food in 3. A merit system is used in 4 institutions for delinquents and the committed children obtain their release from 1 place when a specified but varying number of credit points is obtained. Student government is the method of control in another institution. The military type of discipline, the use of guards, extra duties, and "standing on line" are other forms of discipline. In one institution ten small but clean compartments in the detention building, with no direct light, no chairs, and no beds, serve for discipline. A boy is



locked in one of these tiny rooms, with no toilet but a can. This same institution has a mess hall with long, well-scrubbed tables and benches, and the boys are divided according to their behavior, each table having a sign above it. The seven tables are graded: "Incorrigible," "Faults," "Aim," "Order," "Truth," "Peace," and "Purity." The tables at the upper end of the scale are not crowded. Dependents, delinquents, detained and committed children are treated alike in this home.

*Recreation.*—Recreation does not receive much consideration in some of the public institutions. Two have organized groups such as scouts; 1 has a trained recreation leader daily and 2 others have one once a week; 9 have some employees who promote activities; 4 take advantage of neighborhood resources; and in 2 the detained children appear to enjoy little or no recreation. The supply of equipment for both indoor and outdoor play is inadequate in most homes, but the children are generally allowed free play when not working on the farm, or in the school. Football and baseball are popular. Some homes have a radio, games, and books for indoor amusement.

*State correctional schools.*—The use of state correctional schools for the detention of children pending court hearing, while infrequent, is very objectionable. The superintendent of one such school said that there are regularly from five to eight children in detention there and they are frequently held for a number of months. He cited the case of a boy who had been detained for nearly a year. The superintendent tried on two occasions to get the case heard, but without success. The boy, whose home was in another state, had been picked up for stealing a car. The probation officer who took him to the industrial school said that he seemed like a normal, bright boy who had "gone astray." The case was continued from term to term, apparently because the calendar of the superior court was full. A complicating factor in this situation was that this boy passed his seventeenth birthday while in detention and was therefore over the age when his case could be heard in the juvenile court, or when he could be committed to the industrial school for training. At this same school the investigator found four little brothers admitted in May, 1930, pending "trial" for incorrigibility before the superior court, the case to come up in September. At the time of admission they were six, eight, nine, and

eleven years of age. These children were in the cottage with the younger boys (ages up to fourteen), but were not treated differently in any particular from the other inmates of the school.

*Relation to the court.*—The court commits children for long-time care to two-thirds of the institutions studied, and the homes are designed to meet the needs of committed children, care of those detained being only incidental. Generally the period of detention is long in the public institutions, with the possibility that children will be “parked” there and forgotten.

#### HOSPITALS AND ALMSHOUSES

Several hundred children were detained in hospitals, sanatoriums, and almshouses in the fiscal year 1929-30. These agencies are highly undesirable places of detention for children. Almshouses and county infirmaries are primarily for adults, and generally for the type of adults from whom the children should be shielded.

*Hospitals and sanatoriums.*—The extent of detention in hospitals and sanatoriums cannot be determined, for records are not kept on this basis. However, it is a common practice to transfer children with infectious diseases, particularly venereal, from detention homes and jails to hospitals.

Of 17 areas in which hospitals and sanatoriums are admittedly used for detention, only 11 were able to give the number detained. In 10 the reports showed less than 25 children and in 1 there were 27. In all, a record was obtained of only 78 children detained in hospitals and sanatoriums in 1929-30. However, these figures are an understatement. In no instance was this method of detention the only one in local use.

In one city most of the young delinquent children and all of the dependent and neglected group are kept in the city hospital where they are put to bed for safekeeping. To put well children to bed in a hospital twenty-four hours a day is absurd, if not worse. The hospital is paid \$1.50 per day per child, an amount which would provide excellent boarding-home care. The older delinquent children in this community are sent to jail.

In the capital of one of the middle western states two crippled children, seven and ten years of age, were detained in a sanatorium because the probation officer did not know what to do with them.

These boys were the sons of a feeble-minded Italian woman who had kept them swaddled so long that they had no use of their legs, and they had been in the sanatorium for almost five hundred days. At the time of the field-worker's visit, the officer had not found a permanent placement for these boys.

In another county two medical agencies care for some detained children. The superintendent and owner of a Negro hospital occasionally takes Negro children because there is no other place for them except the jail. The children help with the work, and those of school age go to the public school. The superintendent and nurses play with them in the large yard. The other medical agency in this county is a detention home for venereal cases. This was erected during the war, but only two of the one-story buildings, of frame construction and sadly in need of repair, are now in use. The furnishings are meager and makeshift, but the place is clean and some attempt has been made to have it homelike. The institution is under the board of health. Infectious cases are kept in bed or strictly isolated. The superintendent, trained in home economics, teaches cooking, weaving, sewing, quilting, and gardening. She enters into the recreation of the children, and there is plenty of opportunity for outdoor and indoor play. Both children and adults are taken in this institution and there is no segregation.

The need for careful discrimination in the use of hospitals for detention is evident. As an emergency measure it may be called for with sick children, and may be the most satisfactory detention which the community can provide for infectious diseases. But a hospital is no place for children who are not bed patients, and its use for detention of well children is seriously objectionable.

*Almshouses and county infirmaries.*—Children, generally dependent and neglected, are still being held in almshouses, usually for disposition by state departments. In several states it is the practice for the overseer of the poor to bring dependent and neglected children to the almshouse for detention until the court hearing. There is sometimes a legal limit on the length of time that children may be detained in almshouses, but this is not always observed. In one state with a thirty-day limit, children were found who had been held for nearly three hundred days.

One county farm, old and gloomy, shelters diseased, crippled, normal, subnormal, and abnormal adults, and the children are segregated only at night. More serious still, the average period of detention is 17.4 months. In another county runaway children are kept at the almshouse. In a third, children with pediculosis or scabies are sent to the county infirmary to be cleaned up before placement. In only 3 almshouses are the children segregated from the regular inmates and in these cases the children are kept in the hospital wards. In 6 almshouses the children mingle with the aged, many of whom are far from desirable companions. In 6 almshouses the children are allowed to play outdoors on the grounds, in 2 there is no recreation, and in 1 there is provision for some recreation indoors. Health needs are usually cared for by the staff of the county hospital. There is no

TABLE XI

Number Detained	Number of Areas
Under 25 children .....	5
25-99 .....	3
116 .....	1

school for the children in 6 of the almshouses, and in the others they are sent out to school.

Twelve areas reported the use of the almshouse for detention, but the numbers detained could be obtained in only 9 areas. Children are placed in almshouses by agencies other than the court. In no area was this the only method of detention. The number of children detained in each of the areas may be grouped as shown in Table XI. From the standpoint of numbers the problems of almshouse detention is not serious, but it is deplorable that any children are so held in the twentieth century.

#### JAILS AND POLICE STATIONS

Approximately one-seventh of the detained children were held in jails or police stations. This does not include police control for an hour or two pending placement in detention. While it is practically the universal opinion that children should not be detained in jails and lockups, nevertheless it was found that in 119 of the 141 areas this method of detention was used. Of the 119 areas reporting this type of detention, only 85 were able to give any idea of the numbers of children so held.



The number of children so detained may be grouped by areas as shown in Table XII. Of the 12 areas detaining more than 500 children in jails, 3 have an upper limit for juvenile-court jurisdiction of sixteen years, 1 of seventeen years, 2 of seventeen for boys and eighteen for girls, and 6 of eighteen years for both. In 50 areas the jail was reported to be the only place for detention, but the survey data show that the jail is exclusively used in only 5 areas.

*Admission and release.*—In many jurisdictions other individuals and agencies than the court authorize admission of children to jails and police stations, and their release. The police frequently exercise this right, also the probation officer, the detention-home superintendent, the sheriff, the prosecutor, other public officials, and sometimes private agencies. In certain areas the court alone has this

TABLE XII

Number Detained	Number of Areas
Under 25 children . . . . .	25
25-99 . . . . .	25
100-249 . . . . .	15
250-499 . . . . .	8
Over 500 . . . . .	12

authority.<sup>7</sup> Centralizing this authority in the juvenile court is most effective in reducing the number of jail detentions to a minimum.

*The physical plant.*—In one county where the county jail and the local lockup are the only means of detention, 61 children were held in the jail and 315 in the lockup. The boys' section of the county jail is on the same level as the upper tier of cells for the men. It has five cells, each with toilet, and a shower-room at the end. This section seems darker and more gloomy than any other part of the jail. The women's section to which girls are sent is one-half floor above the level of the men's second tier of cells and has a metal partition to prevent the women from seeing into the men's department when

<sup>7</sup> The agencies exercising authority to place children in jails were: the police in 6 areas; the probation officer in 27; the sheriff in 35; the prosecutor in 11; the detention-home superintendent in 2; private agencies in 2; and a public official in 5 jurisdictions.

The agencies with authority to release children from jails were: the police in 40 areas; the probation department in 40; the sheriff in 25; the prosecutor in 8; public officials in 4; private agencies in 1; and the detention-home superintendent in 1.



the door is open. Sections for Negro and white women are separate, and two or three prisoners occupy each cell. There is no occupation except keeping the department clean. Several infectious venereal patients of the United States Public Health Service are regularly held here. Inquiry as to the ages of the 61 children held in this county jail showed that 3 were ten years of age or under; 4 were eleven or twelve years of age; 10 were thirteen or fourteen years of age; and 44 were fifteen or sixteen years of age. These children were held for an

TABLE XIII  
SEGREGATION OF CHILDREN HELD IN JAILS AND POLICE  
STATIONS PENDING COURT HEARING

Type of Segregation*	Number of Areas Reporting Type of Segregation	
<i>In women's division:</i>		
Boys and girls.....	14	22
Girls only.....	8	
<i>In separate rooms:</i>		
Boys and girls.....	38	43
Boys only.....	3	
Girls only.....	2	
<i>In separate cell blocks:</i>		
Boys and girls.....	18	22
Boys only.....	4	
Not segregated.....	....	36
No record.....	....	5

\* Even when children are segregated from adults they are usually left together with no supervision.

average of 10.9 days, one girl being held 78 days for venereal treatment and a boy 89 days for the federal authorities.

*Accommodation for juveniles.*—The type of segregation in jails and police stations is shown in Table XIII. Children were detained in separate rooms, in separate cell blocks, in the women's section of the jail, and in 36 areas the children were not segregated from the adults. There were accommodations in separate rooms for several children who were usually left to their own resources with little supervision. This, of course, is a very questionable policy. A worse method of detention is that of placing the children in the women's

section where they come in contact with women who are unfit companions for children. But the most objectionable method of all is that of no segregation whatsoever from the adults confined in the jail.

In the majority of the jails there was complete segregation<sup>8</sup> of children from adult offenders so far as physical contact is concerned. In a few jails some children were segregated and others were not. Usually, this meant that girls were with women, or Negro children were not segregated from adults. In almost one-third of the jails there was no possibility of segregation.

Even though the children may be segregated physically from adults, it is desirable that they should be protected from the sights and sounds in the adult quarters.<sup>9</sup> In only 41 areas were the children so located that they could not see or hear the adults. It is very evident that large numbers of children were exposed to bad surroundings in the jails and police stations in which they were detained pending court hearing.

In one of the cities which prides itself on the use of boarding-homes for detention, large numbers of children are held in jail. The city jail has five cells for boys, equipped with toilets and washbowls. The boys are not locked in the cells, but are free to congregate in a very small "pen." A heavy barred door keeps them in their department, but they can hear everything in the matron's office. Across the hall from the cells for boys is a room for girls with three beds, toilet, and washbowl. A small room with a single cot is reserved for a fractious inmate. One tub serves this section, the matron arranging for its use. The women's cell block is near. According to the matron, meals sent up for the prisoners are planned on a temporary basis only and consist mainly of sandwiches with coffee for the adults and milk for the children. She also stated that many children held there were never taken to court.

<sup>8</sup> In 61 areas there seemed to be complete segregation so far as physical contact was concerned; in 2, the children were segregated whenever possible; in 15, some children were segregated and others were not; in 36, there was no physical segregation; and in 5, there was no information on this point.

<sup>9</sup> In 53 areas the children in jail could see some of the adults and could hear a good deal of conversation; in 41, the children could not see or hear the adults; in 13, some could not see or hear while others could; in 13, there was no information on this point.

The city jail detention quarters for juveniles in another area are separate from the adult section. They are unsanitary and antiquated. The bedding is very dirty, and there is nothing to recommend the place except that the children are segregated from adults. In the county jail in this area children are in a clean and better-ventilated place, but here they are confined with adults. Four boys were seen by the investigator. One boy, thirteen years of age, had been indicted by the grand jury for breaking, entering, and shooting. He had been in the jail for five weeks and was confined with the men. In this county 536 children were held in the city jail; it was impossible to ascertain the number held in the county jail.

*Program and services.*—Nothing answering to the phrase “program and services” could of course be looked for in a jail, and findings on this point are almost negative. In 9 jails there is a routine medical examination of all children; in 2, special examination for sex offenders only; and in 4, examinations are made of children who are to be sent to institutions. In all other cases the doctor is called only for a case of illness. Children in jail usually have nothing to do except talk to one another or to the adults incarcerated with them. Generally there is very little supervision except to prevent escape. One jail attempts to provide school for the children and in another “citizenship talks” are given regularly.

In most jails nothing is provided for recreation of the children. Frequently even reading matter is denied because when they are bored or rebellious the children use this material to stuff up the plumbing. Playing cards and reading (entirely unselected) are permitted in some jails. In a few places there is a bull pen or runway, and in one jail the children have exercise on the roof. An exceptional jail has a piano and radio in a living-room where some of the children are allowed to gather under supervision of the matron.

*Reasons for jail detention.*—The reasons given for detention of children in jails and police stations were numerous. The jail was said to be the only means of detention in 30 areas, but this statement was not borne out by the facts in the case, since in only 5 areas was jail detention found to be the only method in use in the year 1929-30. In many other communities the statement was made that the jail was used for older children who were too disturbing for the detention

home. Again, this was not always true, for the reason that young children were in jail and older children in the detention home at the same time. Furthermore, a study of the type of offense in these cases did not always give a clue as to the reason that certain children were held in jail while others were in the detention home. In many communities the reason given for jail detention was the need for secure detention. Runaways and children likely to escape were frequently held in the jail. In almost one-half of the places the seriousness of the offense was given as the criterion for jail detention. Other types of cases found in jail included: children who were drunk, Negroes, federal offenders, and emergency cases. The distance of the detention home from the place of apprehension of the child was considered an emergency for a good many cases.

BOARDING-HOMES

The use of private homes for the care of children is steadily growing as a social practice, but skilled work is necessary in selection and

TABLE XIV

Number Detained	Number of Areas
Under 25 children . . . . .	28
25-99 . . . . .	13
100-499 . . . . .	5

supervision of such homes. Boarding-home care lends itself easily and effectively to detention in cities, towns, or rural communities.

While 64 of the areas studied use this method, it was found not to be so important from a numerical standpoint since only 1,829 out of 118,772 children detained in the fiscal year 1929-30 were held in foster homes. In only 46 of the 64 areas was it possible to obtain the number in boarding-homes, but in the other areas there are probably not many children cared for by this method. In no area is placement in boarding-homes the only method of detention. The numbers detained in the various areas may be grouped as shown in Table XIV. It is apparent that in only 5 areas are any considerable number of children cared for in family homes pending court hearing.

Generally foster-home placement is used for dependent children, but in 11 areas it was reported that all types of children were cared for in boarding-homes. However, the investigators find that children



who are unruly or who have committed serious offenses are frequently kept in jails, since boarding-home matrons refuse to be responsible for difficult children. While it is generally assumed that children detained in boarding-homes are disposed of promptly by the court, this is not necessarily true as there are many prolonged detention periods.

*Selection and supervision.*—In 44 areas information was secured concerning the homes used. They are found and supervised by diverse children's agencies,<sup>10</sup> with and without trained case-workers. Most of the homes are licensed by the state department of child or public welfare,<sup>11</sup> and generally meet some standards of child care. Agencies usually select these homes for their own cases without considering the needs of the detained child. Children being held for the court usually mingle with the others.

*Segregation.*—Since family homes can take only a few children, the segregation of types must be made by placement in different homes. When there are several homes, the probation officer uses his discretion in selection. Difficulties of segregation arise, however, as it is almost impossible to select consistently. Use of these same homes by other agencies is an additional complicating factor. Private homes do not lend themselves to segregation within the home and often there are too few adults to provide adequate supervision. Consequently young dependent children often cannot be protected from the older delinquent ones. In the family home generally used for girls by the Boston Juvenile Court the girls sleep on the third floor and the foster-mother and other members of the family sleep below. When several girls are left together at night, there is nothing to prevent the contagion of delinquency.

*Medical facilities.*—Medical arrangements are as necessary in foster-homes as in institutions. The children are taken to clinics in

<sup>10</sup> The boarding-homes are selected by the probation officer in 12 areas, by a public agency in 13, by a private agency in 13, by the board of health in 2, and by various agencies in 4 areas. The homes are inspected and supervised by the probation officer in 12 areas, by public or private agencies in 26, by the board of health in 1, and by various agencies in 5 areas.

<sup>11</sup> The state welfare department licenses all homes in 21 areas, homes where two or more children are kept in 1 area, the homes which care for children under three years of age in another area. In 20 areas the homes are not licensed by the state department.



21 areas, 3 communities use the city or county physician, while in 5 communities a physician is attached to the agency arranging placement. The doctor is called only when needed in 14 localities. Some homes are retained especially for the care of children with venereal disease.

*Program and services.*—Such needs as education, discipline, and recreation are borne in mind in selecting the homes. Effort is made to find foster-parents able to deal with children wisely. The children usually attend the public school, unless they are to be held for only a day or two, in which case they are occupied by reading or talking. The foster-mother usually has the children help with the work, primarily to keep them busy. Sometimes she uses this opportunity to teach the child good habits and manners.

*Financial policy.*—In only 5 areas are retainer fees paid to the boarding mother. The scale of payment varies widely, the lowest rate being from four to six dollars a week, the highest two dollars a day, and the most frequent rate one dollar a day or five dollars a week. In some areas an additional amount is paid for the care of certain types of children, such as venereally infected or problem children.

*Present trend.*—Boarding-home care for children held pending court disposition follows the general trend in children's work toward foster-homes in place of institutions. Further consideration of the boarding-home plan is contained in the recommendations of this study. A brief résumé of some of the advantages and disadvantages of this method is given here.

The selection of good boarding-homes calls for a specialized technique not to be found in many children's agencies, nor as a rule on the juvenile-court staff. Detention in a family home is not as absolutely secure as in an institution, although security of detention may be, and frequently is, overemphasized. Older and seriously delinquent children are more difficult to provide for, and segregation within the home may be a practical impossibility. It is harder also to arrange for night admission and transportation of children to boarding-homes than to public detention homes, especially from the police angle. Children may have to wait in the guardroom of the police station or in a cell for two or three hours. In Boston the men

probation officers must be on call every third month for night duty in transporting children from the station to the boarding-home. However, this practical difficulty could perhaps be obviated.

There are certain distinct advantages in the boarding-home method. It is available for use in communities of any size; it is much less expensive to maintain than detention-home care, an important consideration for the taxpayer, and does not involve a real estate investment and overhead charges. Segregation may be accomplished by the use of several boarding-homes; children may be observed to better advantage under more normal home conditions. Epidemic danger is minimized; contagion by exchange of delinquent experience is also greatly reduced. Much can be said for the psychological effect on the child of a brief boarding-home experience as compared with experience in a congregate institution. There is the further argument that where family homes are used there is probably less casual and unnecessary detention than where institutions with available beds are conveniently at hand.

## CHAPTER X

### PRESENT PRACTICES AND SUGGESTED CHANGES

This section of the study has been devoted to consideration of the policies and places of detention in 141 areas included in the inquiry concerning detention of children pending court hearing.

It seems clear that in most communities the police tend to have too much contact with juveniles. While the police officer should use discretion with regard to the necessity of apprehending a child, yet he should be relieved of the child's custody as soon as possible. The placement of the child pending court hearing and the determination of the need for court hearing should be the responsibility of a social worker who has made a study of the case. Whenever possible, children should be kept out of the police stations—a policy which was found practicable in several communities.

The juvenile court holds the key position in the treatment of children who are disturbing elements in our communities. There is need for the development of juvenile courts where the judge is given sufficient freedom from the pressure of adult cases so that he can give undivided attention to the needs of children. The judge can set a high standard for the police who apprehend the child, for the probation officer who studies his problem and later carries out the orders of the court, for the workers in the detention home who protect the child during the trying time that he is uncertain about his future, and for the community which is responsible for the welfare of the children. The findings of this inquiry, however, show that there are few courts having juvenile judges with sufficient time to study the problems of the child. Furthermore, in some cases the judges hearing juvenile cases are not sufficiently interested in the children's problems. Many of the probation departments are understaffed, and many have untrained probation officers. Even though the juvenile court has original jurisdiction over children, in many communities the police and magistrates usurp authority to settle children's problems.

The public detention homes housed approximately two-thirds of

the children who were detained pending court hearing in the fiscal year 1929-30 in the areas covered by this inquiry. Public detention homes were located in 63 areas and there were no detention homes found in 78 areas. Many of the so-called public detention homes were in reality homes for the long-time care of children, but they lacked the equipment, personnel, and supervision that such homes should have. There is need for state inspection and supervision of the agencies for the care of children pending court hearing in almost every state. While a few of the public detention homes have adequate physical plants, trained personnel, a well-planned program of services for the children, and adequate supervision, the large majority are open to considerable criticism. The staff in most of the homes is poorly selected and grossly overworked. Some workers rebel at the impossibility of the task assigned to them, and consequently a system of guards keeps the children locked up in barren rooms. The program and services are adequate in but few of the homes. Public detention homes seem to be needed in most of the large cities, but justice cannot be done to the children for whom they care unless trained personnel is provided. The position of superintendent in a detention home calls for a high degree of intelligence, for training in the treatment of problem children, and for patience and imagination. Every detention home needs a competent, trained admission officer, who has authority to refuse to accept children who do not need detention.

Private shelters care for almost one in seven of the detained children. Some of these shelters in New York City provide the best physical plants, program, and personnel that were found by the investigators. Other shelters are very poor, and their use should be discontinued. Homes, both private and public, for the long-time care of children, accept some children pending court disposition. This type of care is usually not desirable, for the program is planned for children who will be kept more or less permanently. Sometimes the detained child lives in the building, but is not of the group, in which case he is very lonely and unhappy. The most challenging type of care pending court hearing is that of foster-home placement; but in only five communities are such homes used extensively. To be successful, it is necessary to have competent social workers to find the

homes and to supervise the children. Whether or not this type of detention would be practicable in large industrial cities is problematical. This type of care requires whole-hearted co-operation between the police and the court, or else many children will be kept in police stations and jails.

Children are kept in three types of agencies which are planned primarily for adults—hospitals, almshouses, and jails. In none of these places of detention are conditions such that their use should be continued. More than one in seven of the children included in this survey were held in jails and police stations. The need for almost every community to take steps to keep children out of the jails and police stations is pressing.

The time that ensues between apprehension by the police and disposition by the court is fraught with many possibilities for good or evil. Wise treatment at this time will help a child to appreciate the efforts being made to adjust him in his community. Thoughtless, careless handling at this time may make a rebellious, sullen child who will not co-operate with the judge and other workers interested in his welfare. Almost every community needs to scrutinize its method of handling children who are disadvantaged, who are problems, who are offenders against the law. Every juvenile court needs a good child-guidance clinic for the study of problem children; and the children detained pending court hearing should have access to this clinic. The needs of its children are a challenge to every community to provide social workers for the court and the detention home, and treatment resources for the judge. An adequate number of competent, trained social workers in each community will pay financially as well as in the rehabilitation of the children who have become disturbing to the community.



## CHAPTER XI

### THE DETAINED CHILD

#### GENERAL SEX AND RACIAL DIFFERENCES

In order to know what is actually happening to the large number of children who are being held in detention in the various parts of the country every day of the year, individual schedules were secured for 17,045 children of juvenile-court age who were detained in 93 of the 141 areas included in this survey of detention facilities. These schedules represent a sample of 200 consecutive admissions in the larger agencies, or a year's intake in case there were not 200 admissions in the year. The data secured from these schedules are presented in this section of the report and an attempt will be made to interpret their significance and particularly to indicate what light they throw on the need for improvement in the care of children during a critical time in their lives.

Schedules were obtained from 52 public detention homes; 16 private shelters; 14 private orphanages and homes; 11 public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children; 5 hospitals and sanatoriums; 3 almshouses; 41 jails and police stations; and 21 boarding-homes. Because of inadequacy of records, it was impossible to secure schedules from all of the agencies where children were detained during the year 1929-30.

Of the total of 17,045 admissions, 11,585, or approximately 68 per cent, were of boys, dependent and delinquent, and 5,460, or 32 per cent, were girls. There is a wide range in the proportion of the sexes in the different localities, and figures by areas are not given because such variation is due to differing local facilities, jurisdiction, and practices, making them not clearly comparable.

Table XV shows the total of 17,045 boys and girls in the various types of detention as obtained from 93 areas of the survey. This table should not be interpreted as showing the relative volume of detention in the eight different methods listed. It does, however, give a fairly accurate indication of the ratio of the two sexes in the different

types of detention, as there is no reason for thinking that complete returns would affect this proportion. The difference between the sex ratios in public detention homes and in private shelters, showing a higher percentage of girls in the latter, is probably due to the emphasis of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children on protective work. Their neglect cases are evenly distributed as to sex, therefore such a group in an institution tends to equalize the sex proportion, although in the purely delinquent group boys largely out-

TABLE XV

BOYS AND GIRLS OF JUVENILE-COURT AGE HELD IN DETENTION, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF DETENTION PROVISION, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

TYPE OF DETENTION PROVISION*	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total cases.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Public detention homes.....	6,964	69.0	3,126	31.0
Private shelters.....	1,012	62.1	617	37.9
Private orphanages and homes.....	236	49.1	245	50.9
Public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children.....	423	58.5	300	41.5
Hospitals and sanatoriums.....	13	†	14	†
Almshouses.....	90	54.2	76	45.8
Jails and police stations.....	2,253	79.4	585	20.6
Boarding-homes.....	594	54.4	497	45.6

\* These figures do not give the relative prevalence of the various types of detention provision, because of the impossibility of obtaining schedules from all of the agencies detaining children.

† Percentages not given for less than 100 schedules.

number the girls. The ratio of boys to girls in jails and police stations reflects the admittedly larger number of delinquent cases among boys and also suggests the greater reluctance of public officials to place girls in jails. In the private orphanages and homes the girls outnumber the boys. This may be accounted for by the use of the Houses of the Good Shepherd and the Florence Crittenton homes for girl sex offenders.

Racial differences are shown in Table XVI.

*Detention of Negro and white children.*—Table XVI gives some indication of the ratio of white to Negro children in the various types of detention placement. As in the preceding table, it should be noted

that comparisons are not valid between the different types of detention since the returns are incomplete and variable. This table really gives a rough estimate only of the use of the different methods of de-

TABLE XVI

BOYS AND GIRLS OF JUVENILE-COURT AGE CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND TYPE OF DETENTION PROVISION, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

TYPE OF DETENTION PROVISION	WHITE		NEGRO	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Boys				
Total cases*.....	3,928	.....	2,145	.....
Public detention homes.....	2,380	69.8	1,030	30.2
Private shelters.....	229	58.6	162	41.4
Private orphanages and homes.....	108	77.7	31	22.3
Public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children.....	170	72.6	64	27.4
Hospitals and sanatoriums†.....	3	.....	2	.....
Almshouses†.....	0	.....	2	.....
Jails and police stations.....	827	52.2	756	47.8
Boarding-homes.....	211	68.3	98	31.7
Girls				
Total cases.....	1,983	.....	889	.....
Public detention homes.....	1,205	74.8	405	25.2
Private shelters.....	163	56.8	124	43.2
Private orphanages and homes.....	68	54.4	57	45.6
Public institutions for dependent, delinquent, or problem children.....	144	95.4	7	4.6
Hospitals and sanatoriums†.....	1	.....	6	.....
Almshouses†.....	5	.....	4	.....
Jails and police stations.....	192	49.1	199	50.9
Boarding-homes.....	205	70.2	87	29.8

\* Selection by sampling from schedules indicating race.

† Percentages are not given for less than 100 schedules.

tention for the two races and a comparison between the sexes housed in the same types of detention placement.

The ratio of Negro children to white in jail is clearly in excess of their proportion in the population and may be taken to indicate less

hesitancy on the part of officials to place Negro children, both boys and girls, in jail. It also reflects undoubtedly the lack of other facilities for temporary care of colored children in many localities, particularly in the South. The high ratio of Negro children in the numbers detained in private shelters is partly accountable when we recall that these shelters are chiefly located in New York State where the agents of the S.P.C.C. pick up neglected children regardless of race. The economic condition of Negroes in New York City makes the number of such cases disproportionate to the population ratio.

It was possible to obtain individual schedules showing the race of the children detained in only 46 of the areas. The largest number were in the large industrial cities of the North and in the South and Southwest. Designation of race was more frequently given in the areas in which there is a large Negro population than in the areas in which there is no particular race problem. In the 46 areas reporting race, the Negroes constituted 13 per cent of the general population, while they contributed 34 per cent of the detention admissions; that is, the number of Negro children detained was two and a half times the proportion of Negroes in the general population of these areas. The proportionately large use of detention for Negro children also corresponds with the percentage of Negro children in the courts. The United States Children's Bureau has secured information concerning courts handling juvenile cases, since 1927. In 1929<sup>1</sup> the data from 96 courts showed that 15 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls who were classified as delinquent were Negroes and 13 per cent of the dependent and neglected children were Negroes. This represents a much larger proportion than the ratio of Negro to white in the general population. The United States Children's Bureau reported<sup>2</sup> that in 1928 for the 61 courts reporting the number of white and Negro children within the age of juvenile-court jurisdiction, "the ratio of male juvenile delinquents to 1,000 estimated population of these ages was three times as high among the colored as among the

<sup>1</sup> *Juvenile Court Statistics* (1929), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 207, pp. 20 and 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Juvenile Delinquency: A Summary Memorandum of Available Material on Extent, Causes, Treatment and Prevention* (prepared for the use of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement by Katharine F. Lenroot; Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, October, 1929), p. 43.

white (41.9 as compared with 14.3). The ratio for colored girls was four times as high as for white girls (11.2 as compared with 2.7)."

It is worthy of note that there is a much larger use of northern facilities for detention of Negro children than of southern facilities. In the northern cities the Negro children live in the areas where the rate of delinquency is high for white as well as for Negro persons. Their parents are likely to be employed away from home in the daytime, and the children are left to their own resources. More opportunities for thieving and malicious mischief are perhaps presented to the Negro child in the North than in the South. Also the proportion of Negro children held for custodial care in the North is larger than in the South. Furthermore, in the South certain types of delinquency in Negro children will not be considered so disturbing as in the North. For example, the truant officers in the North search for all children who are truants, white and Negro. There is not the same zeal for apprehending the Negro truant in the South. Many Negro girls are apprehended for sex delinquency in the North and only a small group in the South. It is hardly possible that fewer sex offenses are committed in the South; it is more likely that the public authorities are less concerned about them.

#### AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age distribution for children in detention is affected by variation in the upper limit of juvenile-court jurisdiction, and by the practice and jurisdiction of the court in dependency cases. Dependency cases in some areas are handled by private and public agencies, who assume responsibility for detention with other case-work needs, cases being brought into court only for legal decision. In other courts the entire program for dependent children is carried by the court or probation staff.

The age distribution of 16,200 boys and girls for whom this information was reported in the individual schedules is given in Table XVII.

Dependents, of course, greatly predominate in the lower age group. The delinquent group begins to show in an age classification at about ten for boys and twelve for girls, although it is a practice in many courts to bring young delinquents into court on a petition alleging improper care or its equivalent rather than delinquency. The



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rise in age shows concentration at fifteen for boys, a rapid decline at sixteen, and a further drop at seventeen. In the case of the girls the peak is reached at fifteen years, with a less rapid decrease after that age. The difference in the rate of decline after fifteen years is due no doubt to the fact that in a number of states the age of jurisdiction is higher for girls than for boys. The marked decrease in numbers after fifteen years of age is due to the fact that in many states the

TABLE XVII  
AGE OF DETAINED CHILDREN, BY SEX, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

AGE DISTRIBUTION	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Age reported.....	11,036	100.0	5,164	100.0
Under 5.....	630	5.7	517	10.0
5-10.....	1,223	11.1	786	15.2
10.....	548	5.0	162	3.2
11.....	692	6.3	193	3.8
12.....	1,001	9.1	287	5.6
13.....	1,293	11.7	472	9.1
14.....	1,954	17.7	687	13.3
15.....	2,144	19.4	905	17.5
16.....	1,100	10.0	678	13.1
17.....	435	3.9	357	6.9
18 and over.....	16	.1	120	2.3
Age not reported.....	549	.....	296	.....

limit of original juvenile-court jurisdiction is for children under sixteen years of age.

General racial differences are not sufficiently marked to justify tabular presentation, but certain trends may be noted. As one would expect, a larger proportion of white than of Negro children under ten years of age were detained, this representing largely the custodial group. The percentage of Negro boys was higher between the ages of ten and fourteen than of white boys, suggesting that Negro boys are detained for delinquency at an earlier age. A similar difference, though less marked, appears for the Negro and white girls from eleven to fifteen.

The age distribution classified according to the place of detention is shown in Table XVIII. Percentages are not given for children de-

TABLE XVIII

AGES OF CHILDREN, CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF DETENTION, AND BY SEX,  
WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

AGE DISTRIBUTION	PUBLIC DETEN- TION HOMES	PRIVATE SHELTERS	PRIVATE ORPHAN- AGES AND HOMES	PUBLIC CHIL- DREN'S INSTITU- TIONS	JAILS AND POLICE STATIONS	BOARD- ING- HOMES
Per Cent Distribution						
Boys						
Age reported.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5.....	4.3	14.6	9.4	14.8	.2	15.5
5-10.....	10.1	19.6	24.2	25.6	3.7	19.0
10.....	5.2	5.1	7.1	6.4	3.3	6.1
11.....	6.4	6.0	7.6	6.4	5.5	8.0
12.....	9.6	8.2	8.1	9.6	7.6	10.2
13.....	12.8	9.2	9.4	7.2	10.9	11.1
14.....	18.4	18.2	10.8	9.2	18.5	14.6
15.....	20.3	16.1	11.7	10.0	23.8	9.0
16.....	9.5	2.8	11.7	8.4	16.4	6.0
17.....	3.2	.2	.....	2.0	10.0	.5
18 and over.....	.2	.....	.....	.4	.1	.....
Girls						
Age reported.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5.....	7.8	18.0	8.6	17.6	1.4	16.0
5-10.....	13.6	23.8	14.4	29.6	2.0	22.6
10.....	2.7	4.8	3.1	7.9	1.3	4.4
11.....	3.5	4.9	5.9	7.3	2.0	3.7
12.....	5.5	4.8	9.5	7.9	5.0	5.4
13.....	10.1	8.5	6.3	7.9	7.9	7.7
14.....	13.7	13.6	18.5	6.1	14.3	11.4
15.....	18.5	12.9	19.8	6.7	24.9	14.3
16.....	14.3	5.3	7.2	3.0	23.5	11.0
17.....	7.2	2.3	4.9	3.6	16.3	3.1
18 and over.....	3.1	1.1	1.8	2.4	1.4	.4

tained in hospitals and almshouses since the numbers were too small to warrant inclusion.

Variation in the age distribution in different kinds of detention is due primarily to the prevailing type of child in the particular institution. The custom in many communities of detaining older unruly boys and girls in jail is clearly shown in the increase in this older group. The difference in upper age limit of jurisdiction is again operative in this jail classification, which would include many more children over sixteen, if the eighteen-year limit was uniformly in effect. The difference between boys and girls in jurisdictional limit is indicated in the sharper decline for the former than for the latter. Nearly 4 per cent of the boys and almost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the girls in the jail and police-station group are shown to be under ten years of age. Jail detention for such young children, either delinquent or dependent, is inexcusable, and indicates clearly a low standard of social work either in the court or in other agencies.

Public detention homes housing both dependents and delinquents include many children in the preschool group, with a steady increase to the modal age for both boys and girls at fifteen. Private shelters with greater resources for custodial care show a larger concentration in the younger group. There are more young children in the public children's institutions than in the private orphanages, perhaps explainable by the larger use of the latter for sex offenders.

A comparative consideration of the age distribution for white and Negro boys shows that there is some difference in the younger group, as 5 per cent of Negro boys held in jail and 3 per cent of the white boys were under ten years of age. There were proportionately many more white boys in the fifteen-, sixteen-, and seventeen-year classification in jail than Negroes, suggesting that possibly jailers or other officials may not be so particular to include the older Negro boys in the juvenile group as they are the white boys of the same age. In the boarding-homes there is a larger percentage of young white boys than of young Negro boys. In public detention homes the percentage of Negro boys in the ages from ten to thirteen is somewhat higher than for white, suggesting that Negro boys are detained for delinquencies at an earlier age than white boys. The modal age for white boys in the public detention home was fifteen and for the Negro boys thirteen. In the public children's institutions approximately 56 per cent of the white boys as compared with slightly less than 11 per cent of

Negro boys were under ten years of age. Private shelters, on the other hand, show more Negro than white boys under ten years of age, indicating the emphasis of the shelters on protective care of children regardless of race.

A comparison of Negro and white girls by ages in the different places of detention shows concentration of the Negro girls in the age groups from thirteen to sixteen in public detention homes, with the modal age at fourteen and fifteen with an equal number of girls in each age group. The modal age of the white girls is fifteen, but there are almost as many in the sixteen-year group. The jail group is again of interest, showing 24 white girls twelve years of age and under and 36 Negro girls. Boarding-homes show a larger number of white girls under ten years of age, but the Negro girls predominate in the groups from thirteen to sixteen. No Negro girls under eleven years of age were detained in these private orphanages reporting race, while almost one-third of the white girls in orphanages were in this age group.

*Adults in detention homes.*—In several detention homes records of adults were obtained, but were not used in this study. Sometimes these adults were mothers of small children, who had been evicted. In other cases they were older girls above the age of juvenile-court jurisdiction, who were retained in the detention home to care for the children. Occasionally they were girls held pending admission to the school for the feeble-minded. In one year 30 adult delinquent women were committed to one detention home. These were mostly women with small children who were sentenced to serve their time in the detention home in order that they might have the children with them. Boys over juvenile-court age were found in some homes doing odd jobs. Such mixtures of age groups are clearly undesirable, not so much for the difference of age in itself as in the accompanying problems which such an older group inevitably brings to the administration of the detention home and to the influences affecting the children.

#### AGENCIES OF ADMISSION AND RELEASE

*Admission.*—Who decides regarding detention of a delinquent or a dependent child? What part does the detention-home superintendent have or does the institution lack voice in the matter entirely?

If an intake policy centers in the detention home itself, then clearly there is the need of a well-trained case-work executive in the admitting office. Discrimination can then be made on a case basis as well as on the basis of general policy agreement between the different agencies and the court. However, such a system is rarely if ever encountered. To what extent does the authority of the court operate? Is the approval of the court merely a routine matter, or is real discrimination exercised? Is the place of detention merely a receiving

TABLE XIX

BOYS AND GIRLS ADMITTED TO DETENTION BY SPECIFIED AUTHORITIES  
AND AGENCIES, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

ADMITTING AUTHORITY	Boys		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total cases.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Agency reported.....	9,739	100.0	4,663	100.0
Juvenile court or probation office. . . .	2,962	30.4	1,736	37.2
Other courts. . . . .	597	6.1	163	3.5
Police. . . . .	4,406	45.2	1,064	22.8
Policewomen. . . . .	47	.5	281	6.0
Sheriff or other peace officers. . . . .	270	2.8	106	2.3
School. . . . .	266	2.7	63	1.4
Private agency. . . . .	399	4.1	462	9.9
Public agency. . . . .	377	3.9	432	9.3
Other agency. . . . .	99	1.0	66	1.4
Self or relatives. . . . .	316	3.3	290	6.2
Agency not reported. . . . .	1,846	.....	797	.....

station for children who may be deposited there by any agency or individual, or is admission contingent upon investigation or emergent necessity? These are some of the questions which arise in considering problems of admission to detention.

Policies of admission and release in the various types of detention have already been discussed in this report. The agencies through which 14,402 children were admitted to detention, this being the number for whom this item was recorded, will now be considered. This analysis, which includes admission from all of the eight major types of detention, is presented in Table XIX.



It is evident from this table that police or peace officers brought to places of detention approximately 49 per cent of the boys and 31 per cent of the girls. This is not a gauge of the proportion of children handled by the police, but indicates only those actually taken to the place of detention by the officers in person. It is encouraging to note that about one-fifth of the girls brought by the police were in charge of policewomen, indicating a more protective procedure for delinquent girls. Nearly one-third of the boys and over one-third of the girls were admitted on order of the judge or through the probation department. This does not necessarily mean that the child has not been held at the police station before being referred to the court, but it does indicate a sound detention policy where decision as to the necessity of holding a child is made by the court itself. Probation officers are more likely to allow the child to remain in his own home than are peace officers. Children admitted through the juvenile court would represent, besides the arrested group, children brought to the attention of the court by social agencies caring for dependents, by relatives and neighbors, or others interested. This category also includes children who have violated the conditions of probation and are being held pending a modified disposition, children held by the court for medical or psychological study, and others waiting admission to state institutions after commitment by the court. The group admitted to detention through other courts represents transfers to the juvenile court and the use of the detention facilities by other courts.

The percentage of children admitted by public and private agencies as indicated in the table may be an understatement, as procedure frequently requires these organizations to work through the court, which thus becomes the ostensible admitting agency. The number as given represents only those who upon their own volition brought children to the place of detention. Even so, almost one-fifth of the girls and 8 per cent of the boys were admitted through these channels. In many cases children so detained are not held for the court, as by local agreement some agencies have the right to place children in the public detention home pending their own decision as to disposition or placement. There is again the possibility that these agencies may use the detention home for discipline in cases which are troublesome to them. One such case illustrates this.

A twelve-year-old boy in the care of an agency was taken from a fresh-air school and placed in the detention home because of misbehavior. He remained for seventy-eight days in a home in which he had improper food and little care, with no outdoor life. After this interruption to his medical treatment he was returned to the fresh-air school. Many detention periods for children in agency care could be obviated entirely with a little foresight and more expert planning. When admission is through the court only and is not merely a routine permission, these unnecessary detentions can be eliminated.

Strictly speaking, parents, relatives, and children themselves should not be classified as the admitting authority in detention. Those so designated in the table merely include those brought to the place of detention by parents or relatives on their own initiative, and the children who came of their own volition. So far as official responsibility goes in such cases, the detention home itself would probably have to be considered the admitting authority, but the group is presented in this form statistically, because it indicates a special problem. Though numerically small, these admissions should be scrutinized closely. Parents sometimes want to punish children by carrying out a threat of detention; application by relatives may indicate unwarranted interference in a complex family situation. If the admitting clerk in the detention home has no opportunity to discriminate, considerable damage can be done in the individual case and the misuse of the detention-home results. Children admitted upon their own request present a curious problem for serious consideration. Some have been in the detention home previously and found more happiness and security there than in their own homes. Sometimes they are children who are desperately in need of immediate assistance, so that they have been forced to act upon their own initiative. One boy who was admitted many times to a large detention home begged to be allowed to stay because he disliked his stepmother. He was returned to his family but always ran away again. Finally, he became a member of a criminal gang and at the present time is serving a long reformatory sentence. It is superfluous to point out in a case like this the value of a more careful and thorough study of the situation, and an effort to work out the problem without returning the child to the home which was the source of his difficulty.

A comparison of the Negro and white groups in regard to agencies of admission shows slight differences only, and in some classifications the numbers are too small for conclusions. The juvenile court or the probation office admitted practically the same percentage of Negro and white boys, but 5 per cent more white than Negro girls. Police and other peace officers were responsible for admitting 47 per cent of the white boys and approximately 50 per cent of the Negro boys, so very little difference is indicated here. The contrast is more marked in the case of the girls, showing 30 per cent of the white group admitted by the police and 40 per cent of the Negro girls, a difference which is a little difficult to interpret. Perhaps Negro girls are given less protective and preventive care and therefore a larger proportion come to detention through actual arrest by an officer. Fewer Negro than white children are brought by relatives, probably owing to the proverbial hospitality of the Negro people who generously care for their own dependents; but this difference may be occasioned by a lack of social-agency facilities and assistance for Negroes. The number of admissions of white children by private and public agencies is larger than that of Negro children. Seven per cent of the white boys and 15 per cent of the white girls were brought to detention by such agencies, as compared with 4 per cent of Negro boys and approximately 11 per cent of Negro girls. Here again we may have a reflection of lack of adequate agency care in the community, which necessitates a larger percentage of Negro children who must be brought to detention by the police after they have become delinquent.

*Release.*—The authority for the release of detained children is of considerable importance. If only qualified agencies can obtain the release of children, then it is probable that plans will be made for them and for their proper placement. The question of the authority for release is, of course, closely connected with the authority for admission. If a worker knows that it will be necessary to convince a qualified authority that detention is justified, then careless and ill-advised detentions will be discontinued. The various places of detention will then be more than a convenient place to deposit children pending the making of plans.

It appears that 60 per cent of the children were released by the courts, largely by the juvenile courts. The probation departments

released approximately 18 per cent of the children, having made a suitable plan without formal court hearing. It may thus be said that the courts and court agencies released nearly 77 per cent of the children, either by formal court hearing or by informal adjustment. This is almost double the proportion of children admitted by these authorities, and indicates that cases of children brought in by agencies other than the court were acted upon by the court, formally or

TABLE XX

BOYS AND GIRLS RELEASED FROM DETENTION BY SPECIFIED AUTHORITIES  
AND AGENCIES, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

RELEASING AGENCY	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total cases.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Agency reported.....	9,806	100.0	4,636	100.0
Juvenile court.....	5,746	58.6	2,552	55.0
Probation office.....	1,735	17.7	797	17.2
Other courts.....	248	2.5	120	2.6
Police.....	418	4.3	182	3.9
Other peace officers.....	117	1.2	60	1.3
Private agency.....	148	1.5	143	3.1
Public agency.....	279	2.9	249	5.4
Other agency.....	14	.1	8	.2
Superintendent of home.....	475	4.8	234	5.0
Institutional officer.....	62	.6	20	.4
Parent or relative.....	281	2.9	109	2.4
Escaped.....	135	1.4	48	1.0
Not released.....	148	1.5	114	2.5
Agency not reported.....	1,779	.....	824	.....

otherwise, before release. This is clearly shown in the case of release by the police. These officers admitted nearly one-half of the boys and approximately one-third of the girls, but released only 5 per cent of each. Even this 5 per cent, however, is indicative of the danger of casual police detention. If release must be obtained through the juvenile court, this policy will have a deterrent effect on police admissions tending to reduce the number of cases where detention seems desirable.

Nearly 5 per cent of the children were released by the superin-



tendent of the home. This number may reflect a ruling in some homes that the superintendent may take such action if formal charge or petition is not filed within a specified time. It includes also the group transferred to the jail by the superintendent, some of those transferred to hospitals for treatment, and the group admitted outside of court channels and released because of insufficient reason for detention. The percentage of girls released by agencies was slightly higher than that of boys. The percentage of admissions was much higher than the percentage of releases by agencies. Most of these children were classified as dependents.

In considering the children released in the "parent or relative" group, the difficulty referred to in the classification for admissions arises again. Neither parents nor relatives can be considered as a releasing agency having authority to remove a child from detention. In most of these cases the authority of the detention home is the final one, although obscured in this presentation. As in the other instance, this classification is kept because it is interesting to know in how many cases parents or relatives on their own initiative make application for the release of the child and secure him directly without court order.<sup>3</sup> Of the 390 released on application of parents or relatives the largest number were runaways, children whose parents had posted bond, or dependent children whose families have been able on their own initiative to make plans for their care.

In comparing the Negro and the white children in regard to release, the most significant finding is that formal court action was found necessary for a much larger proportion of Negro than of white boys. Seventy-one per cent of Negro boys were released by court authority, presumably after a formal hearing, as contrasted with 59 per cent of the white boys. The difference is not so great for the girls since there were 61 per cent of Negro as contrasted with 56 per cent of white girls released without formal court hearing. Private and public agencies authorized the release of a larger percentage of white than Negro children, reflecting, as do the other figures on racial dif-

<sup>3</sup> This group should not be identified with or confused with the classifications "released to parents or home" and "released to relatives" given in Table XXI. The designations in Table XXI refer to children officially permitted to go home on decision of the court or other authority.



ferences, the lack of facilities for care of Negro children in many communities. Similarly, the percentage of white children released directly on request of parents or relatives is nearly twice that of Negro children so released, indicating possibly that Negro children are less likely to be detained, unless some agency outside of the family has stepped in to make plans for the child. A small number of escaped children in both groups attracts our interest, but there is little that one can deduce from the figures given. The escapes may indicate an unsatisfactory program in the detention home or may reflect a rebellion against the length of detention. In some cases, however, it may merely indicate greater initiative on the part of the child, or perhaps just a runaway habit. It is curious to note that in the percentage of escapes the Negro girls exceed each of the other three groups, but no reason for this is apparent, and the actual numbers are small.

#### DISPOSITION AT RELEASE

Following the question of who has authority to release these children is the still more important question of what is done with them when they leave the various places of detention. Of the 17,045 children studied, the disposition at release was reported in 14,934 cases. The data regarding this small army of children are presented in Table XXI.

It is evident from the table that almost two-fifths of the children were released to parents or relatives. It is likely that most of these children could have been safely left with their families pending disposition. Some of the delinquents were returned home with nothing more serious than a reprimand. Probably the number released on probation would be higher if the statistics had not included some communities with no probation officers, and if delinquents only were included in the table. The children classified as released to courts or police officers were generally those being transferred as runaways to their home communities.

Release on bond or bail is used three times as often for boys as for girls, probably because the boys were charged with stealing or destroying property of value, offenses which are far less common with girls. This difference is reflected also in the "fine or reparation" group. Some children had to "serve time" because they were unable to pay

fines, a type of criminal practice which is clearly objectionable. There seems little excuse for fines, and certainly less for having a child work out a fine by confinement in an institution. Reparation or restitution may be a valuable educational measure, particularly

TABLE XXI

BOYS AND GIRLS RELEASED FROM DETENTION TO SPECIFIED AGENCY, INSTITUTION, OR OTHER DISPOSITION, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

AGENCY, INSTITUTION, OR PERSON	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Disposition reported.....	10,085	100.0	4,849	100.0
Released to parents or home.....	3,634	36.0	1,546	31.9
Released to relatives.....	337	3.3	305	6.3
Released on probation.....	1,441	14.3	440	9.1
Suspended sentence.....	178	1.8	37	.8
Case continued.....	16	.2	9	.2
Released to courts or peace officer...	269	2.6	118	2.4
Fine or reparation.....	162	1.6	32	.7
Bond or bail.....	363	3.6	52	1.1
Whipping.....	22	.2	1	*
Committed to institution for delinquents.....	1,734	17.2	685	14.1
Committed to institution for dependents.....	410	4.1	363	7.5
Released to private agency.....	317	3.1	218	4.5
Released to public agency.....	327	3.2	208	4.3
Hospital, including school for defectives.....	168	1.7	232	4.8
Foster placement.....	333	3.3	351	7.2
Other disposition.....	91	1.0	90	1.9
Escaped.....	135	1.3	48	.9
Not released.....	148	1.5	114	2.3
Disposition not reported.....	1,500	.....	611	.....

\* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

where a child can himself earn the money to make good the loss he has caused. Survivals of some very objectionable and even cruel punishments were found by our investigators from time to time. Seven boys were committed to the chain gang, and 22 boys and 1 girl were ordered by the court to be whipped. In one state, records were found showing that the chain gang is still used for children, even

though the practice has long since been condemned for adult offenders.

The children released to public and private institutions were in many cases in the care of these agencies before the detention period. The foster-home group would be larger if we could add the children placed in foster-homes immediately after release by the court to one of the agencies. Foster-home placement as a case-work practice in the juvenile court itself is increasing and frequently saves an institutional commitment, removing the child from a home which inevitably plays its part in his delinquent situation, and from a neighborhood of delinquent association.

*Racial differences.*—Differences in the dispositions of white and Negro children were not sufficiently marked for tabular presentation. Analysis shows, however, that white boys were more likely to be released to parents or relatives than Negro boys, but in the case of the girls there was little difference. Probation cases showed a higher percentage among the Negro children than the white. Whether this means real probation or merely a release without supervision for lack of institutional facilities is a question. Probation service for Negro children is, in many localities, inadequately supplied either by white or by colored officers. More Negro boys than white were committed to institutions for delinquents, the difference being 22.8 for the Negro and 14.3 for the white boys. The percentages for Negro and for white girls were the same. More white than Negro children were cared for by placement in hospitals and in schools for defectives, another gauge of difference in social provision for the two races.

A consideration of the disposition of these thousands of boys and girls raises a question as to the wisdom displayed in the treatment of these children who have demonstrated their need for services by others than their own kin. Thousands of these children will return again to the detention homes and the courts. Some of the reasons why they were not satisfactorily cared for are inherent in our industrial order, and the wisest of juvenile-court judges and the most competent of probation officers could not prevent all of the breakdowns. In addition, judges are frequently hampered by a lack of treatment resources in the community. The judge may know that a child needs removal from an unfit home and placement under the care and dis-

cipline of good foster-parents and yet if the court lacks the money to pay for such placement he must allow the child to go back to his bad environment, knowing that sooner or later he will come again to the court. Sometimes the judge must send a child to the correctional school although he knows that what the child needs is fatherly care and not the discipline of such an institution. Furthermore, decisions must often be made without the benefit of expert advice from physicians, psychiatrists, and competent social workers.

#### REPEATED DETENTION PERIODS AND COURT APPEARANCES

Whether or not the children in detention have had previous periods of detention is an important subject for consideration. Many in-

TABLE XXII  
PREVIOUS ADMISSIONS TO DETENTION, BY SEX,  
WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS ADMISSIONS	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Number reporting.....	3,667	100.0	1,645	100.0
None.....	1,761	48.0	969	59.0
1.....	979	26.7	427	25.9
2.....	409	11.2	152	9.2
3.....	224	6.1	59	3.6
4.....	123	3.3	25	1.5
5 and over.....	171	4.7	13	.8

stitutions do not segregate the child coming for the first time, suffering from the shock of separation from his home, and worried about the unknown and uncertain future, from association with the child who has lived through the experience before and sometimes feels the urge to initiate the newcomer into the worst that he knows.

Disposition made of children at the time of their release from detention cannot be regarded as permanent, or even relatively so. Repeated detention periods and repeated court appearances occurred in the histories of many of these children. These are indicated for 5,312 children for whom information on this point was obtainable (Table XXII).

## JUVENILE DETENTION

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the significance of repeated periods of detention or repeated court appearances in the social treatment of dependent and delinquent children. The efficacy of the particular juvenile court may be to some extent gauged by this recidivism. It is evident that a little more than half of the boys and 41 per cent of the girls had at least one experience of detention previous to the one studied. These children are both dependent and delinquent children and each group suffers in its own particular way from this repeated experience—the dependent child having an increased

TABLE XXIII

EARLIER COURT APPEARANCES FOR CHILDREN DETAINED, BY SEX, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

NUMBER OF EARLIER COURT APPEARANCES	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Number reporting.....	3,591	100.0	1,578	100.0
None.....	1,585	44.1	917	58.1
1.....	908	25.3	381	24.1
2.....	531	14.8	163	10.3
3.....	276	7.7	65	4.1
4.....	144	4.0	29	1.9
5 and over.....	147	4.1	23	1.5

sense of insecurity in such movement from one place to another, and the delinquent child frequently showing evidence of increasing misconduct, with the added chance of his spreading contagion among the other children.<sup>4</sup>

Children new to detention experience, as well as those with repeated detention episodes, may already have had a court experience previous to the period studied. The number of such earlier court appearances for 5,169 children is shown in Table XXIII.

In gathering the data the investigators were careful to include in court appearances only official hearings for new offenses, and not to

<sup>4</sup> One child reported in another study was in a detention home so frequently that he told the psychologist he was "a resident of Juvenile Hall" (*Report on the Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice* [National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931], p. 121).



include continuances and remands. It was necessary to adopt this basis of selection because of the variation in practices of the different courts. Some courts, for instance, have several hearings before disposition is finally determined. Other courts have one hearing only on each offense. It is too clear to need further emphasis that children who are coming repeatedly into court and who must be repeatedly detained are not receiving the type of understanding attention and supervision which their particular problems require.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE DETAINED CHILD—*Concluded*

#### REASONS FOR DETENTION

It is important to know why so many thousands of our American children are placed in detention every year. The principles that should govern the use of detention are well stated in a publication of the United States Children's Bureau:

The primary purpose of detention is safe-keeping pending disposition of the case, and both for the child's sake and for the sake of the community which bears the expense of detention, it should be limited to those children for whom it is absolutely necessary. Such children include: Runaways and homeless children; those whose home conditions are so bad that immediate removal is necessary; those beyond the control of their parents; those whose parents cannot be relied upon to produce them in court; those who have committed offenses so serious that their release pending the disposition of their cases would endanger public safety; those who must be held as witnesses. Detention for the purpose of observation is thought by some to be justified in cases in which detention for the purpose of safe-keeping would not be warranted.<sup>1</sup>

*Delinquent and non-delinquent classifications.*—In studying the reasons for detention given in the daily register in most detention homes, it is obvious that the persons responsible for bringing many of the children to the home were not influenced by the principles enunciated by the Children's Bureau. The large group of children who were brought by the police and other officers of the peace have offenses listed in the terms of criminal procedure in a great many cases. It is no uncommon thing to see that a certain child has committed "grand larceny," or "breaking, entry, and larceny," or "robbery with a gun," or "burglary."

The fact that the police docket children, using the criminal-law terminology for the charge, may not seem particularly serious at first thought. But, in many cases this is simply an indication of the attitude of mind of the officer making such a charge, and also unfor-

<sup>1</sup> Katharine F. Lenroot and E. O. Lundberg, *Juvenile Courts at Work* (1925), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 141, pp. 67-68.

unately of some probation officers, referees, and judges hearing juvenile cases who do not have a clear conception of the principles underlying the juvenile-court law. They still think in terms of punishment for an offense, instead of in terms of a child needing study and treatment. The whole purpose of the juvenile court may be defeated by rough or thoughtless handling by the authorities.

When we consider reasons for placing children in detention, we think first in terms of categories of offense so far as the delinquent is concerned. Obviously while the admitting offense as given in the records is the immediate cause for detention, it is not the sole cause and sometimes not even the chief one. Underlying reasons may really determine detention; the situation in the child's home, for instance, or the necessity of isolating a child as a witness. A girl sex offender may be held on a charge of immorality and yet the motive of the officer detaining her may be to assure emergent medical treatment. Incurribility is another "label" which covers a multitude of situations. It is used in some courts to avoid stigmatizing a girl with a charge of sex misconduct. In other cases incurribility more properly applies to the parents who have lost control of their children. It is the practice in some courts in the case of younger children, and often for girl sex offenders, to make a petition alleging neglect or improper guardianship whenever possible, even though the particular act which brings the child to the attention of the court might clearly be termed delinquent. Additional reasons why children are detained could be arrived at by studying the case work of the probation officer, the social resources of the community, and other factors existing quite outside the life of the particular child. It is, of course, impossible to determine all these underlying reasons for detention, and classifications must be based on externals only.

Table XXIV classifies the reasons for detention somewhat roughly, but as exactly as the varying designations and interpretation of terms permit.

An attempt has been made to avoid the criminal terminology used in many localities and to translate the reasons for admission into terms more nearly applicable to juvenile-court practice. They are only relatively modified, however. In reviewing these classifications for both the delinquents and the non-delinquents it must be

kept in mind that courts vary widely in designations for delinquency and in the interpretation of terms classifying misconduct. The non-delinquents are grouped under the general heading "Custodial Care."

In the frequent cases where more than one offense was alleged, the most serious one was selected. It was difficult to distinguish in some instances the actual gravity of the offense. For instance, taking an automobile merely for a "joy ride" might be classed by the police or even by the juvenile court as grand larceny in some cities, while in

TABLE XXIV  
REASONS FOR DETENTION, BY SEX, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

REASONS FOR DETENTION	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total.....	11,585	.....	5,460	.....
Charge reported.....	10,324	100.0	4,756	100.0
Stealing and attempted stealing.....	3,851	37.3	289	6.1
Injury and attempted injury to a person.....	194	1.9	46	.9
Sex offenses.....	158	1.5	725	15.2
Violations of orders and ordinances.....	809	7.8	157	3.3
Incorrigibility and disorderly conduct.....	790	7.7	481	10.1
Malicious mischief.....	303	2.9	29	.6
Running away and truancy.....	1,624	15.7	592	12.5
Custodial care.....	2,595	25.2	2,437	51.3
Charge not reported.....	1,261	.....	704	.....

other places such appropriation of a car might be regarded as a minor violation. However, since taking a car at all is considered a serious offense in most states, it has been classified in the table under stealing as a major offense.

Stealing in general covers of course a large number of accepted designations such as burglary, larceny, breaking and entering, attempted larceny or attempted burglary, but inquiry into some of the individual cases shows the range in property stolen to run all the way from "roasting ears" to an automobile. Stealing from railroad yards, a very common violation of property rights, may involve small pilfering or the taking of property of considerable value. Clearly the degree

of juvenile delinquency should not be measured by the monetary value of property taken, yet this is a natural tendency because of the distinctions made in classifying adult crime. Property that is inadequately guarded such as coils of wire, pipe, coal, and material salable to the junkman is frequently stolen by boys. Stealing bicycles from other boys is a very common offense and in one or two localities has special attention from the police. Bicycles are sometimes stripped and re-assembled to make identification difficult. Stripping of cars in automobile thefts is also fairly frequent. Stealing may have in it a strong element of adventure, which obscures in the child's mind the seriousness of the theft itself. With girls, stealing more frequently takes the form of shoplifting, particularly of lingerie and jewelry, or of small thefts from employers or others.

Truancy and running away loom large as reasons for detention. Truancy may be simple or it may be a very complex individual problem. Detention of truants, sometimes for weeks, in institutions where there are no school facilities is not uncommon. "Punishing" truants by a period in the detention home is also familiar. A system of school courts has been developed in some cities where cases are tried by school officials, and truant children are sentenced to the detention home. It so happens that in one city where this custom prevailed there is no school work in the detention home, so the children idle away their time.

*Runaways.*—The group of runaways merits special mention since many of these children have settlement outside the jurisdiction of the court hearing their cases. There are so many different types of runaway children that the problem of handling them is a complicated one. Some are runaways from institutions, correctional or otherwise; some are in search of adventure; some are trying to escape from intolerable conditions at home; a large group, chiefly older boys, are roaming the country in the present depression seeking work and drifting without definite objective.<sup>2</sup> The danger of delinquency and crime in this group is too evident for discussion.

Detention is, of course, only part of the problem. Inquiry revealed that these children are handled in a more or less haphazard fashion, no one agency having responsibility in most communities.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Children's Bureau, *Twentieth Annual Report* (1932), pp. 5-9.



In 29 areas the police handle all of the runaways; in 6, public or private agencies take care of them. The Traveler's Aid Association handles all cases in 3 communities and co-operates in 22 others. In 65 areas the probation officer, when the case comes to him, communicates with the probation officer in the child's home town, but this is not invariable.

The need of case work for these children is obvious. All too often they are simply passed on to the next community after a meal, with or without a little money. Sometimes they are simply given a dollar or two and headed toward home on the highway, with no glimmer of interest as to their ultimate arrival, nor indeed as to the conditions in the homes to which they are presumably returning. In 6 communities the statement was made that older children were passed on to the next place or helped in finding a job. Two sixteen-year-old girls were brought into the detention home in a western city, stranded, without coats on a cold day. The sheriff of their home town in response to an inquiry reported that their parents would not send money for their return. The girls dreaded to start out again looking for work and the matron of the detention home said she hated to have them leave, but no one saw anything else to do.

Transportation home is arranged in many communities, the child being held until a ticket is secured. When transportation is not forthcoming from the home community other expedients are adopted. In one city a child may be sent to the state training school on a very slight charge, because the state provides transportation home on release from the institution. A stranded runaway may be sent to the parental school for a year in one locality, if transportation is not forthcoming from the parents. The probation officer stated in defense of this expensive practice that the child really needed training since the parents had shown themselves to be unco-operative and therefore presumably not adequate to train the child in his home. One boy was in a detention home for several weeks because his parents could not afford to send his fare, other relatives would not advance it, and the two communities "passed the buck" from one to another as to the child's legal residence.

Pending receipt of money for transportation, children are held in jails, detention homes, boarding-homes, and in the care of various

agencies. In 42 areas all of the runaways are held in jail; in 34, all are held in the detention home. Runaways from institutions have about an even chance of being cared for in the jail or the detention home, depending in part on the type of institution from which they have escaped, but generally they are promptly reclaimed.

Children are brought to detention homes frequently for mischief which is annoying, often justly so, to adults. Farmers demand redress when children destroy fences and injure trees, and when they swipe cherries, apples, or corn. Lawns are injured and windows broken by boys playing ball on the street or in a vacant lot. Telephone and telegraph companies are annoyed by boys throwing stones at glass insulators on the poles. Golfers lose patience with them for picking up golf balls on the links. Many cases of this type are undoubtedly settled out of court, the parents paying for the damage done, and it is more or less a matter of chance or of local procedure when children are held in detention for such misconduct. Malicious mischief covers many acts which in themselves do not warrant detention.

Violations of local ordinances have been grouped in the table with violations of orders, that is, of conditions of probation and parole. About four hundred children were held in detention for minor charges of violating city ordinances, such as riding bicycles on the sidewalk, shooting firecrackers, shooting air rifles within the city limits, playing ball on the street, and selling newspapers in the subway. In many instances these violations are as slight as some of the cases of malicious mischief. In others they indicate a more serious situation. Sometimes a child signals his need for psychiatric service by a misdemeanor of this type. In one of the detention homes the investigator saw a fine-looking lad of fourteen who had already been several months in detention, though permitted to attend the local high school. He had turned in false fire alarms on forty-eight occasions, a compulsion clearly calling for psychiatric study, and yet neither the judge nor the probation officer sensed the boy's need.

Incorrigibility covers such repeated acts as loitering about the streets, causing disturbance in moving-picture shows, associating with bad companions, refusing to obey parents, and staying away from home. In general, the incorrigible child is one whom his parents are unable to control.

Some of the reasons given for detention are trivial to the point of absurdity. One small boy was brought to a detention home for breaking a goldfish's back and another for snapping rubber bands. Three little girls were held overnight because they had borrowed the neighbor's porch furniture for their playhouse. Two small boys were detained for opening a gate and letting several horses out of a field. One boy was held for calling a "neighbor woman" an objectionable name.

Material witnesses in sex cases are included in the delinquent classification, "Sex Offenses," because frequently girls in such cases are serious conduct problems, even though the specific reason for detention is a non-delinquent one. Because this is so commonly true and these girls are so frequently committed to correctional schools as delinquents or placed under probation supervision, they are separated from the non-delinquent witnesses who are included in the custodial group.

*Federal offenses.*—In considering offenses necessitating detention, one important group does not appear separately in the statistics of this report, but it is sufficiently significant to merit brief comment. Children who violate federal statutes have until recently been subject to the regular process of criminal prosecution in the United States courts, which were not authorized to distinguish juvenile offenders by informal processes or juvenile-court principles. Most of these children are violators of the Dyer Act, the Eighteenth Amendment, the immigration acts, the postal laws, and the Mann Act. Girls are also held as witnesses against men under the Mann Act. So far as these "labels" are concerned, it is easy to see how misleading they may be. The Dyer Act is intended to cover commercial crime in the transporting of stolen automobiles across state lines. Children indicted under this Act may happen to live near the state line and may have taken a car for joy-riding when they cross it. Similarly, a romantic boy eloping with a girl might be technically guilty of violation of the Mann Act, but should be regarded as a juvenile delinquent rather than a federal law-breaker. Violations of the prohibition law and some other federal offenses occur most frequently in connection with adult law-breakers.

Jail detention has been a commonly accepted method of holding

these children for the court. Authority for it dates back to a Congressional act of 1789, recommending state legislatures to authorize acceptance of federal prisoners in local jails. In the last six months of 1930, a period for which figures are available, 1,060 boys and 107 girls, a total of 1,167 children under eighteen years of age, were held in jails pending disposition in the United States courts.<sup>3</sup> These are official figures taken from the report of the Bureau of Prisons. Many were detained both before and after trial. Four hundred and fourteen children,<sup>4</sup> with the exception of 28 who were detained less than one day, spent an aggregate of 13,984 days in jail. These were all children sixteen years of age and under. Many of these children were not effectively separated from adult offenders and were held in complete idleness with no opportunity for exercise, and frequently in conditions of filth and misery.

Until recently very few of these federal offenders were held in juvenile detention homes or other authorized places of detention for children coming into the juvenile court. Within the last three years, however, a special effort has been made to revise the entire treatment of the federal juvenile offender so that it will be consistent with the care of children by juvenile-court standards. The attorney-general of the United States in the summer of 1931 announced a policy of referring juvenile offenders to the state courts "wherever practical and consistent with the due enforcement of the federal statutes." The attitude of the Department of Justice toward detention was expressed in the words of the attorney-general addressed to United States marshals:

It is the policy of the department to avoid the use of jails for detention of any juveniles of immature years or experience. To this end efforts should be made by you and your deputies to place such juveniles in custody of local juvenile detention homes or in such other places of detention as are provided by local authorities for juvenile and wayward minors wherever such course can possibly be pursued with safety.

This was followed in June, 1932, by an act of Congress authorizing transfer to local juvenile-court jurisdiction of children violating

<sup>3</sup> National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice* (1931), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.



federal statutes, thus including them with other delinquents as primarily a responsibility of the state.

In working out this difficult jurisdictional problem which involves detention among its other aspects, there has been active and close co-operation between the Department of Justice, particularly in the United States probation system, and the United States Children's Bureau. At the present time, in accordance with this act of Congress many children are being transferred to juvenile courts, and are subject to the same general method and necessity in regard to detention as are other juvenile delinquents.

*Custodial care.*—The non-delinquent or custodial-care classification of over twenty-five hundred cases includes, besides the large group of dependent and neglected children and those living under improper home conditions, children who are held as witnesses in cases not involving sex offenses. The lot of the material witness is hard, and injustice is frequently done to boys or girls because some public official thinks they should be incarcerated to protect them from approach in regard to testimony. They are sometimes deprived of their liberty for weeks and months at a stretch, while the guilty adults, released on bond, pursue their regular course of living. While this is particularly true of sex offenses against girls, it is also true of other offenses. Adequate protection from the prosecution standpoint could be secured in many of these cases without recourse to the detention home. A boarding-home can usually provide whatever precautions are necessary against tampering with a witness. One instance of inconsiderate, almost criminal detention of a young girl was reported by one of the investigators. This child at thirteen was forced by her father to marry a man of fifty-five who abused her. She left him and went to live with a woman of bad reputation at whose home her baby was born, and where she continued to live after the baby's death. They were arrested as drunk after an automobile wreck and taken to jail. As it happened, a Negro was lynched that same night and the girl was held as a material witness since she could identify some of the county officials who had participated in the lynching. This occurred in 1926. In July, 1927, she was allowed to go, at her own request, to the state industrial school so that she could learn to read and write. A year later she was returned to the



children's home where she was originally detained, and in January, 1931, was still being held as a witness while working in the home as assistant to the matron. At the time of this inquiry the case had never been tried but had been continued many times. Detectives came from the governor's office occasionally to make sure that the girl was kept in detention.

Lost children included in the custodial category are usually held for a few hours only and are not at all important as a group. Those needing medical care, however, include children held for both physical and mental examination, and frequently for rather prolonged treatment. Medical attention in these cases runs all the way from treatment of pediculosis to correction of deformities, and from scabies to venereal treatment. Epileptic and feeble-minded children are frequently detained pending admission to state institutions and may seriously handicap the detention home program. In one instance a feeble-minded boy of sixteen regularly mistreated a twelve-year-old boy who was being held for cardiac treatment. At the time of the investigator's visit the big boy had just thrown salt and pepper in the eyes of the younger boy, and the matron reported that the day before he had kicked the younger child in the stomach. Even this was not sufficient to secure the removal of the feeble-minded child from his field of activity. In several communities children who have no homes spend their vacations from state schools for the blind or the deaf in the local detention home.

The use of the detention home as a diagnostic center or at least a place of observation in cases undergoing psychiatric study brings up again the question of the function of the detention home itself. One city has a separate cottage for children who are being studied in the child-guidance clinic, and here they are given exceptional opportunities under the supervision of a trained and efficient staff. The judge makes use of the reports concerning these children in his decisions, and a body of scientific data is being gathered which will be valuable in determining policies of child care in the future. This use of the detention home raises the question whether a child will react as normally in such a setting as he would if he remained in his own home under observation, even though that home may not be a suitable one. The value of staff observation of children depends

wholly on the aptitude and training of the staff, and it is rare to find workers in these institutions who are equipped to make observations of more than superficial value. Mere convenience and accessibility to the clinic is another reason why some children who are personality problems are placed in the detention home.

*Sex differences.*—Besides the differences in extent and type of stealing between boys and girls which we have mentioned, there are other differences in prevailing delinquency. Older boys are likely to be members of gangs sometimes criminal in character. Girls when arrested together are usually in groups, social in character, and tending to terminate in sex misconduct. Fewer boys are detained for sex offenses than girls, public opinion on this question no doubt having some bearing on the distinction in treatment. Two other factors entering in are the lower jurisdictional age for boys in some states and the likelihood that girls will be held as witnesses against men. Detention for venereal treatment is much more frequently necessary for girls than for boys. Pregnancy cases further increase the total. Girls outnumber the boys proportionately in the incorrigibility and disorderly conduct classification, but this is a broad term which is frequently used to cover sex offenses, particularly where girls stay away from home overnight or are out until very late at beaches and roadhouses in bad company. Boys are more likely to play truant and run away than girls, but the numbers in this classification would be larger if it were not for the fact that truancy and running away are so often concomitants of other offenses considered more serious. The number of custodial-care cases is about the same for both sexes.

*Racial differences.*—A comparison of Negro and white boys in regard to reasons for detention shows differences comparable to others already commented upon. Thirty-one per cent of the white boys were held for stealing and attempted stealing, whereas 47 per cent of the Negro boys were held for that reason. This does not necessarily indicate a higher delinquency rate for the Negro children, of course, but only that a larger proportion are detained for this reason, possibly because Negro children are frequently not given attention until their delinquencies become serious. The percentage of Negro boys held for injury to a person is higher than for white boys. The group itself is small, but it includes both murder and manslaughter.

In the truancy and runaway group, white boys outnumber the Negro boys about two to one. Again this does not indicate that white boys are more frequent truants or runaways, but only that they are held twice as often for this reason. This probably reflects less diligent school-attendance work in the South where truancy is not so seriously regarded for Negroes as for white children. Custodial-care cases included more white than Negro boys, particularly in the dependency and neglect group.

Negro girls were held for stealing and allied offenses about three times as often as white girls, the percentages being 13 for the Negroes and 4 for the white. The reason for this is not immediately evident. It may reflect greater leniency toward the white girl, or possibly delinquent behavior in Negro girls does work out more frequently in this channel. However, it is certainly not safe to make any assertion on this point. In the matter of injury to a person, the difference between Negro and white girls is rather striking. In actual numbers 7 white girls were detained for this reason in comparison with 32 Negro girls. It is quite possible that we have here a genuine difference of reaction under the impulse of anger, jealousy, or other emotion. Incurability and disorderly conduct such as fighting and street disturbance rate twice as high among the Negro girls as the white girls, 18 per cent of the Negroes being detained for this reason and 9 per cent of the white. There is no great difference between the two races as to detention for sex offenses, as 12 per cent of the white girls were held for this reason and 9 per cent of the Negro girls.

*Reasons for detention in relation to place of detention.*—The frequency of certain types of offense in relation to the place of detention is presented in Table XXV. Differences which would naturally be anticipated show up very clearly in this table. In the public-detention-home group, differences between boys and girls are found particularly in the percentages detained for stealing, sex offenses, and custodial care. In the public children's institutions, it is evident that a strikingly high percentage of girls are custodial cases and a small percentage are detained for stealing. Similar differences, though less marked, are evident in the private-shelter classifications. It is rather surprising to see that nearly one-fifth of the girls in jail were held for custodial care, a proportion almost as large as that for sex offenses.

Nearly one-third of the girls held in jail were placed there for incorrigibility, running away, and truancy, which is a larger proportion than is shown in any other type of detention for this offense. One

TABLE XXV

REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF BOYS AND GIRLS, CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF DETENTION, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

REASONS FOR DETENTION	PUBLIC DETEN- TION HOMES	PRIVATE SHELTERS	PRIVATE ORPHAN- AGES AND HOMES	PUBLIC CHIL- DREN'S INSTITU- TIONS	JAILS AND POLICE STATIONS	BOARD- ING- HOMES
	Per Cent Distribution					
	Boys					
Charge reported. . . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stealing and allied offenses. . . . .	37.3	24.5	17.9	25.3	53.8	25.5
Injury to a person. . . . .	1.6	1.1	.9	.....	4.0	.7
Sex offenses. . . . .	1.7	1.3	.....	.4	1.7	.5
Violations of orders and or- dinances. . . . .	7.9	4.3	1.9	16.6	10.4	5.5
Incorrigibility, running away, and truancy. . . . .	30.3	22.5	29.7	9.1	20.7	17.3
Custodial care. . . . .	21.2	46.3	49.6	48.6	9.4	50.5
	Girls					
Charge reported. . . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stealing and allied offenses. . . . .	5.7	5.0	3.5	1.9	13.8	5.3
Injury to a person. . . . .	.5	1.0	1.7	.....	4.9	.....
Sex offenses. . . . .	16.2	15.3	10.4	6.8	22.2	8.8
Violations of orders and or- dinances. . . . .	3.4	1.1	.6	.....	8.5	2.4
Incorrigibility, running away, and truancy. . . . .	26.4	15.8	22.7	2.5	31.1	16.5
Custodial care. . . . .	47.8	61.8	61.1	88.8	19.5	67.0

would expect to find at least half of the boys in jail to be there for stealing and this is clearly evident. The larger proportion of girls detained in jail for this offense as compared with proportions in other types of detention probably reflects popular opinion of the serious-



ness of stealing. In the boarding-home classification there are no striking indications.

A comparison between Negro and white children as to types of offense in relation to place of detention reveals some interesting information. A much larger proportion of Negro than white boys detained in boarding-homes are placed there for stealing, the proportions being 52 per cent for the colored group and 10 per cent for the white. It is also rather striking to note that 29 per cent of the Negro boys in boarding-homes are held for custodial care and 76 per cent of the white boys. A larger proportion of Negro boys in the jail-detention group are held for stealing and a smaller proportion for incorrigibility. The group held in private shelters is similar throughout, and in the public children's institutions the greatest difference is in the proportions held for stealing and allied offenses—56 per cent in the case of the Negro boys and only 11 per cent for white boys. In the public detention homes the figures are not very dissimilar except that the Negro boys registered higher in the stealing group and lower in the incorrigibility and custodial-care classifications.

Differences between Negro and white girls are similar in some respects to those of the boys. Half of the Negro girls held in boarding-homes were placed there for custodial care and nine-tenths of the white girls. On the other hand, 20 per cent of the Negro girls in boarding-homes were placed there on account of stealing, but there were no white girls held for this reason. Jail detention shows twice the proportion of Negro girls held for stealing and nearly ten times as many held for injury to a person. The incorrigibility figures for jails are nearly identical and the custodial-care percentage in jail is 26 per cent for the white girls and 13 per cent for the Negro. About one-third of the Negro girls in private orphanages are held for custodial care and four-fifths of the white girls. In the public children's institutions it is interesting to note that all of the Negro girls are in the custodial group as contrasted with 88 per cent of white girls. Public detention homes show a larger proportion of custodial-care cases for white than for colored girls.

*Reasons for detention in relation to court hearing.*—The relationship of court hearing to offenses or reasons for detention for boys and girls is given in Table XXVI.



This table shows clearly the seriousness with which stealing and sex offenses, in particular, are regarded, judged from the implied necessity of detention until hearing. The difference between boys and girls in detention for sex offenses is partly explainable by the necessity for medical treatment of the girls, and of holding them as witnesses for the criminal court. Almost one-half of the boys and girls who were detained because of incorrigibility did not have a

TABLE XXVI

CHILDREN IN DETENTION, CLASSIFIED BY REASON FOR ADMISSION AND RELATIONSHIP TO COURT HEARING, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

OFFENSES AND REASONS FOR ADMISSION TO DETENTION	NUMBER	RELATIONSHIP TO COURT HEARING PER CENT DISTRIBUTION		
		No Court Hearing	Held Pend- ing Court Hearing	Released Pending Hearing
Boys.....	6,891	40.0	47.7	12.3
Stealing or attempts to steal.....	2,623	28.8	54.8	16.4
Injury to a person.....	116	30.2	35.3	34.5
Sex offenses.....	55	20.0	54.5	25.5
Violations of orders.....	554	45.1	41.9	13.0
Incorrigibility.....	1,945	47.9	42.1	10.0
Custodial care.....	1,598	48.6	45.4	6.0
Girls.....	3,178	44.0	49.6	6.4
Stealing or attempts to steal.....	191	30.9	51.8	17.3
Injury to a person.....	28	35.7	46.5	17.8
Sex offenses.....	535	30.5	63.9	5.6
Violations of orders.....	95	32.6	60.0	7.4
Incorrigibility.....	777	45.2	48.4	6.4
Custodial care.....	1,552	50.6	44.4	5.0

formal court hearing. Many cases, no doubt, were settled by reprimand from the police or probation officer for the particular delinquent act committed. In the non-delinquent group, classified under "Custodial Care," about half of the children had no court hearing at all and only a very small percentage were released pending hearing.

The reasons alleged for detaining children are frequently very trivial, and this points to the need for a person with authority to refuse admission to detention homes. Certainly, no person could per-

suade a competent social worker that a child who had snapped rubber bands, or who had broken a goldfish's back, or who had borrowed the neighbor's lawn furniture for her playhouse was a serious offender who should be detained in a congregate detention home. Admission should be refused unless there is a better reason than a goodly number of the reasons given for the detention of these children.

#### THE PERIOD OF DETENTION

While detention is supposed to be a temporary episode in the treatment of children, who because of delinquency, dependency, or neglect are the responsibility of the juvenile court, nevertheless the length of time children are detained is a matter of grave concern. Instead of a short stay until social investigation and a plan can be made, the time frequently lengthens out; and because of the press of heavy case loads in the probation office as well as in child guidance and other clinics, the child may be kept for weeks, even months, and occasionally for a year or more. The long-time stays are usually due to a lack of resources for the care of children, to insufficient funds for foster placement, and to inadequate probation staffs.

*Interval before admission.*—The period immediately following arrest in the case of delinquent children was studied in a few localities where a time record was available. This is ordinarily the period at the police station or jail pending delivery to the detention home or to the authorized place of detention. These data for five cities are presented in Table XXVII.

It is evident that about 75 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls were delivered to the detention home quite promptly (in less than two hours), considering the practical difficulties of distance and transportation which might be encountered. A period of half a day or more, however, at the police station, may leave its mark on a child's behavior. It is impossible to say how much these long intervals, as shown in the table, might have been reduced by greater concern over the temporary surroundings of the child at the police station, and their effect upon him. The policy which permits children to be held even temporarily in police stations is very objectionable, for during this time the child is often exposed to the sights and

sounds of drunken men and women, drug addicts, and serious offenders. He may hear the jokes and stories of the officers, the discussions at the desk, and the exploits of other offenders.

TABLE XXVII

TIME ELAPSING BETWEEN APPREHENSION AND ADMISSION TO  
DETENTION IN FIVE CITIES, BY SEX, WITH  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

ELAPSED TIME	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION	
	Boys	Girls
Time recorded.....	100.0	100.0
Less than 1 hour.....	50.3	28.6
1-2 hours.....	24.5	31.8
2-3 hours.....	8.5	7.8
3-4 hours.....	8.3	6.4
4-5 hours.....	2.2	4.8
5-6 hours.....	1.3	6.4
6-24 hours.....	4.2	14.2
1-2 days.....		
2-3 days.....	.2	
3-4 days.....	.5	

*Hour of admission.*—The hour of admission to the place of detention is indicated in Table XXVIII.

Almost 36 per cent of the boys and 28 per cent of the girls were brought to the detention home between the hours of six in the eve-

TABLE XXVIII

TIME OF ADMISSION TO PLACE OF DETENTION, BY SEX,  
WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

HOUR OF ADMISSION	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
All children.....	2,915	100.0	1,205	100.0
Noon-5:59 P.M.....	1,115	38.2	528	43.8
6:00-11:59 P.M.....	638	21.9	253	21.0
Midnight-5:59 A.M.....	401	13.8	88	7.3
6:00-11:59 A.M.....	761	26.1	336	27.9

ning and six in the morning. In some localities it was found that children are held at the police station until morning because the detention homes are closed at night, either for lack of adequate staff or for lack of realization of the importance of immediate admission. This table shows clearly the need of planning for efficient night service in detention homes.

*Length of detention.*—The length of the detention period was reported for 16,757 of the children for whom individual schedules were obtained. Table XXIX shows these periods for boys and girls.

TABLE XXIX

PERIOD OF DETENTION, BY SEX, WITH PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

PERIOD OF DETENTION	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Detention time reported.....	11,381	100.0	5,376	100.0
Less than 1 day.....	1,411	12.4	438	8.1
1 day-1 week.....	5,912	51.9	2,196	40.8
1-2 weeks.....	1,543	13.6	778	14.5
2-3 weeks.....	671	6.0	418	7.8
3-4 weeks.....	375	3.3	248	4.6
4-5 weeks.....	275	2.4	193	3.6
5-10 weeks.....	511	4.5	455	8.5
10-20 weeks.....	302	2.6	279	5.2
20-30 weeks.....	112	1.0	123	2.3
30-40 weeks.....	62	.5	69	1.3
40 weeks-1 year.....	81	.7	70	1.3
1 year and over.....	126	1.1	109	2.0

A total of 1,849 children had the disturbing experience of admission to a place of detention and release in less than a day. The necessity of detention in these cases could be determined only by individual study, but certainly a question on this point might well be raised. A larger proportion of girls are kept for long periods of time, perhaps owing to detention for venereal disease or to detention as material witnesses in criminal cases. It is shown that one-fifth of the boys and one-third of the girls were held longer than two weeks, and 1,300 children were held from seventy days to a year or more. It is startling to learn that 126 boys and 109 girls were detained for longer

than one year. In these cases detention merges into prolonged correctional treatment or custodial care.

Analysis of length of the detention period according to the different types of detention (not presented in tabular form) shows that from the standpoint of prompt release the jails and the police stations rank high, but, even so, approximately 12 per cent of the boys detained in jails and 13 per cent of the girls were held for periods longer than two weeks. The chief probation officer in one court admitted that he had "forgotten" one boy who was left for ten weeks in jail. Nineteen per cent of the boys detained in almshouses and 8 per cent of the girls were held a year or over. The long periods of detention in almshouses may be traced to the larger proportion of dependent children placed there temporarily by poor-law officials. Length of detention in hospitals and sanatoriums may be affected by the cases of venereally infected girls. However, 36 per cent of the boys detained in hospitals and 23 per cent of the girls were held for more than a year, which is a long period for medical care. Movement from boarding-homes is somewhat slow and may be due to the fact that the probation officer is overworked and feels that the children are being well cared for and happy in a private family. Other factors perhaps also enter in, such as a temporary placement in a boarding-home, which is a sort of try-out period for longer placement. Of the children held in the public children's institutions, 13.9 per cent of the boys and 19.3 per cent of the girls were detained forty weeks or over.

The long detention periods in public children's institutions are particularly objectionable in those places where the detained children are virtually prisoners and are not allowed to share the group life of the other children. Long detention periods are not so evident in the private orphanage group. Early release from this type of institution may be partly due to the reluctance of the management to keep detained children. In private shelters it is shown that approximately 73 per cent of the detained boys and 55 per cent of the girls were released within two weeks—a rate which is faster than for any other group, except the public detention homes, where 82 per cent of the boys and 68 per cent of the girls were released within the two-week period. Long detention periods for these two agencies include 5 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls held in private



shelters from ten weeks to more than a year, and 4 per cent of the boys and 9 per cent of the girls so held in the public detention homes.

*Children released without court hearing.*—While detention is generally thought to be a period in which a child is held pending disposition by the court, examination of the available data shows that many children held in detention have no hearing at all. Because of incompleteness of the records, it was possible to obtain data regarding court hearing for only 10,728 of the 17,045 children for whom schedules were filled out. More than two-fifths of these 10,728 children—2,971 boys and 1,525 girls—had no hearing. This would include those set at liberty by the police after investigation, those released by the probation officer on an informal settlement, and, in the case of the dependent children, those removed without recourse to the court by the society or agency responsible for their care.

Eighty-three per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls released without hearing from the public detention homes were set at liberty within two weeks. However, approximately 9 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls in the detention-home group were held from five weeks to over one year, and even longer. The figures for the private-shelter group show that 6 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls were held from five to forty weeks and then released. A larger proportion of children were released within two weeks from the private orphanages than from the public children's institutions, where long detention is indicated by the fact that 80 per cent of the boys and approximately 65 per cent of the girls in the "released without hearing" group were held from five weeks to a year. Fairly prompt release from jail for children whose cases never come into court is clearly indicated. Boarding-homes show rather a high percentage in the long detention periods with 38 per cent of the boys and approximately 31 per cent of the girls in the five weeks to one year classification.

*Detention period for children released to return later for court hearing.*—Children were also placed in detention, but released and ordered to return at a later time for hearing. Without presenting this group in tabular form, the findings may be briefly set forth. A total of 1,071 children—861 boys and 210 girls—were so released. This is about 10 per cent of the 10,728 children for whom information on

court hearing was obtainable. The detention period for this group is much shorter for boys than for girls, public detention homes showing less than 5 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls held longer than two weeks. Figures for the private shelters are strikingly similar, 5 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls being held beyond the two-week period. No girls and only 4 per cent of the boys in this group were held in jail longer than two weeks. All of the boys released from boarding homes for later appearance in court were held less than two weeks and only 8 per cent of the girls were held for a longer period than two weeks.

*Detention period for children held until court hearing.*—Another group of cases consists of those who were held until their cases were heard in court. This group contains a total of 5,161 admissions—3,489 of boys and 1,672 of girls—about 38 per cent of the 10,728 children for whom information on court hearing was reported.

In the public detention homes approximately 84 per cent of the boys and 72 per cent of the girls held for hearing were taken to court within two weeks after admission. In the case of the private shelters the figure for boys was 71 per cent, but for girls 60 per cent. A tendency to longer detention before hearing is indicated for the public children's institutions and private orphanages. The boarding-home group shows nothing significant since 76 per cent of the boys and 66 per cent of the girls were released within the two-week period. It is worthy of note that 95 per cent of the children held in jail until the hearing appeared in court within two weeks, indicating again the relatively short periods of jail detention.

At the other end of the scale approximately 5 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls held until the hearing in public detention homes, and 8 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls in private shelters, were kept from five weeks to a year before they finally came into court. The public children's institutions held 20 per cent of the boys and 52 per cent of the girls for this longer period of five weeks to one year before hearing, and the orphanages held 16 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls for this length of time.

*Detention period for children held after court hearing.*—A supplementary period of detention after hearing is frequently found, that is, a delay in final disposition after the decision of the court.

The delay is greater, on the whole, for the girls than for the boys. In a few cases it was found that children were kept for more than five weeks after appearing in court, particularly in the public detention homes. The reason for this is not clear, but it is interesting to note that many of the children kept for long periods after hearing were the same ones who had long periods in detention before hearing. One general cause for delay in disposition after the court has made decision is the crowded condition of various institutions to which children have been committed. Sometimes it is necessary for them to take their places on a waiting list. It is not clear from the data at hand what other causes operate in these post-hearing detention periods, but convenience of court officials or others who are arranging the details of final disposition undoubtedly enters in.

*Length of detention according to reason for admission.*—Length of detention may be partly conditioned by the situation or offense which has made it advisable to hold the child. In the chapter on reasons for detention the unsatisfactory character of admission classifications was discussed; therefore it is only necessary to repeat here that the reason given for admission as stated in the record is not necessarily the actual cause which may be, and usually is, a complex of many factors, the specific offense being only the immediate and determining one.

Examination of the figures obtained for length of detention according to reasons for admission shows that the non-delinquent or custodial group is held longer than the delinquent. About one-sixth of the children held for custodial care were detained ten weeks or longer while very few delinquents were kept for this length of time. For the girls, the custodial cases and the sex offenders (which includes witnesses and venereal cases) were held longer than the rest. Approximately 64 per cent of the sex delinquent girls were released within two weeks but the percentage of release in this period for the other delinquents ranged from 80 to 91. For the boys, 84 per cent of the sex offenders were released within two weeks. Except for this instance, there is no great difference between boys and girls in length of detention for the same offense.

*Relation between length of detention and disposition at release.*—In certain communities children were found who had been held for long

periods of time with no prospect of a plan for release. There were 148 of these boys classified as "not released" (the time being computed from date of admission to date of investigator's visit), and of these 133 had been held ten weeks or longer, and 60 had been detained one year or longer. In almost every case these were dependents who were problem children, many of them being in the dull normal group, difficult to adjust in foster-homes. Approximately 17 per cent of the boys in the foster-placement group were held ten weeks or longer. Only 2 per cent of the boys' probation cases were held for this long period.

Certain types of disposition are correlated with early release. Ninety per cent of the following groups of boys were released within two weeks—fine or reparation, bond or bail, whipping, case continued, suspended sentence and release to other courts or officers of the peace. Three types of disposition show between 80 and 90 per cent released within two weeks—those placed on probation, released to parents, and committed to institutions for delinquents.

Of the girl's cases, over 90 per cent of the fine and bond group are shown to be released within two weeks and 85 per cent of those released to other courts or given suspended sentences. Also released within this time were slightly more than 70 per cent of those placed on probation, committed to institutions for delinquents, or turned over to their parents. Only about 2 per cent of those not released at the time of the investigator's visit had been detained for less than two weeks, and over 40 per cent of this group had been held for one year or over. Furthermore, 93 per cent of the "not released" girls had been held more than ten weeks. Of the girls who escaped, 17 per cent were detained longer than two weeks. There were 26.5 per cent of the escaped boys who had been held for more than two weeks.

It is interesting to note that in not one instance was the percentage of boys released within two weeks lower than the percentage of girls, showing that a larger proportion of boys were released promptly than were girls for the same type of disposition.

Detention is very likely to be abused from the standpoint of the length of time that children may be held before release either with or without court order. Some of the unduly long detentions could be prevented by employment of additional probation officers in many

cities. Some of the lengthy detentions could be avoided by using trained case-workers to solve the children's problems, instead of having probation officers with little or no training who hold the children because they do not know what to do with them. Further long detentions could be avoided by providing adequate treatment resources and additional beds in institutions for the feeble-minded, and in agencies for the care of delinquent and dependent children. Competent social workers, with funds that could be used as needed for the placement of children, would prevent many needless detentions and would also cut down the length of detention appreciably. This would be highly desirable for the taxpayers, for it would mean a significant saving of money. In addition, it would help prevent further delinquencies in certain cases, for some children are demoralized by living in places of congregate detention.



## CHAPTER XIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to present the statistical returns of this study of the schedules of 17,045 children, and a brief summary of the findings is here presented.

Detention is usually presumed to be the care of children pending disposition by the court. It is the method of caring for children which was inaugurated when children were taken out from under the old criminal law and given into the jurisdiction of the juvenile court with chancery proceedings. Under the *parens patriae* philosophy of the juvenile court, children in detention would be cared for as a wise father would care for his children. Accordingly, it would be evident that a wise father would not place his children in jails where they would be exposed to adult offenders. But the practice has not followed the ideals of the juvenile court, for a considerable number of children, even children under twelve years of age, are held in jail. Furthermore, a wise father would not place his children in an almshouse or a county infirmary. Yet too many young dependent children were found in almshouses, where they associate with the aged, the crippled, the venereally infected, the feeble-minded, and the "queer" people who drift to this institution which is under the control of the poor-law authorities. Again, a wise father would not place his children in a children's home where they could hear the good times of the other children and yet be segregated from them, with little or no attention or supervision. A wise father would not place his dependent or younger problem children in a congregate institution where they would mingle with older, delinquent children who might contaminate them morally or injure them physically. A wise father would not lock his child in a room and keep him in solitary confinement, which is considered severe punishment even for adults. A wise father would protect his children from many of the places where children are detained in the various communities.

While detention is presumed to be a method of caring for children

for the court, yet it appears that many children held in detention never have formal court hearings. In some communities the detention home has degenerated into a sort of "parking station" for children, and almost any person can bring a child to the detention home and leave him until called for. A plan not involving formal court hearing is more probable for girls than for boys, and for white than for Negro children. It is evident that the probation officers have more facilities for treatment for certain groups than for others.

Boys predominate in all types of detention facilities, except in private orphanages or homes, where girls slightly outnumber them. The ratio of boys to girls in jails and police stations is four to one, and in public detention homes seven to three.

Negro children appear to be detained more frequently than white children. Whether they actually commit more offenses than do white children in the same economic group and living in the same type of neighborhood is not known. All that can be said is that the Negro children are detained away from their homes two and a half times their proportion in the general population. Especially in the jails is the percentage of Negro children high, for approximately one-half of the children detained in jails are Negro children. It was also found that there is a much larger proportionate use of northern detention facilities for Negro children than of southern.

The evidence points to the need for investigation of policies of intake in detention homes in most communities. Many children are detained for only a few hours and then released. An adequate intake policy would prevent this needless detention, thereby saving money for the community and preventing a disturbing, if not a demoralizing, experience for the child. The question of the advisability of using public detention homes for the detention of children by other than court agencies needs consideration.

The practice of keeping children in police stations needs investigation in most communities. The possibility of having the children taken directly to the detention home instead of by way of the police station should be considered. Much of the value of detention in boarding-homes, for example, is lost if the child must spend several hours in the police station before he is taken to the boarding-home.

A study of the reason why children are brought to the detention

home shows two serious faults in our method of handling children pending court disposition. In the first place, the reason why the child is brought is generally phrased in terms of the criminal law. Several children have the entry of their offense as "murder" and many have the offense listed as "grand larceny." To be sure, these are terms that are familiar to the police, who bring most of the delinquents to the detention home. But it all shows that children are being considered in the light of the criminal law and not according to the philosophy of the juvenile-court law, which considers the child and not the offense. In the second place, the triviality of the reasons for bringing children to the detention home is most distressing in many cases. A very large proportion of the children whose records were studied intensively would never have been brought to the detention home if the principles<sup>1</sup> as formulated by the Children's Bureau were adopted as the basis for detention.

That there is a dearth of treatment resources for certain types of children is evident. The lack of institutions for Negro children is shown by the small percentage of Negro children committed to institutions for dependents. The length of time that dependent children are held in detention points to the need for additional resources for the care of these children. While the feeble-minded children were not numerically so important in the places of detention, yet they were a very disturbing element. The need for additional accommodations in the schools for the mentally defective is evident, for many of these children were held for months awaiting admission to these schools. While detention is supposed to be a temporary episode in the treatment of children, it was found that many were held for very long periods of time. The rate of release for girls is much lower than for boys, owing to the much larger proportion of girls held for custodial care, for venereal treatment, and also as material witnesses in criminal courts. Negro children are not generally held as long as white children, since there are among them fewer custodial-care cases, and also many Negro children are detained in jail. Custodial-care cases are generally held for longer periods of time than delinquent cases.

The number of escapes from detention is large when consideration

<sup>1</sup> *Juvenile Courts at Work* (1925), U.S. Children's Bureau, Pub. 141, pp. 52-54.

is given to the attempts made to hold the children by physical means, such as locks and bars. Some of the children take serious risks in their breaks for freedom. Many of them are held in the upper floors of buildings, and in attempts to escape there is grave danger of accident. The method of keeping the children occupied with a rich program, adequate supervision, and a competent personnel is the best safeguard against escapes.

A thoughtful consideration of the problem of detention strengthens the conviction that much of the difficulty could be obviated by competent workers to handle the problems of the children, dependent and delinquent. Much detention could be entirely avoided if family agencies were staffed with skilful, trained social workers, with sufficient funds to meet the needs of the family. Additional trained probation officers are greatly needed in many of the juvenile and other courts handling children's cases. Children are too frequently sidetracked in the detention home by busy probation officers and workers in the agencies. Much recidivism could be prevented by good case work, which requires trained social workers with a moderate case load. The large number of children who come back again and again to the detention homes and to the court shows a definite lack of wisdom in treating their problems. There is also a great need for trained workers in the detention home itself. If the admitting officer were a case-worker with authority to refuse to accept children, and with a knowledge of community resources so that she could refer them to the proper agency to care for their needs, the children's problems would be more ably treated. This same person might well be charged with the duty of speeding the departure of children from the detention home. Furthermore, if the detention home is to be used for purposes of observation, then worth-while results can only be accomplished if the attendants are able to make observations of value.

Competent social workers in the social agencies and in the probation office, coupled with a socially minded judge of the juvenile court, will go far toward solving the problems of detention. Such a corps of workers for children will see that juveniles are not detained in jails or almshouses. Such a group will stir up the general public to see

that there are funds for foster placement and other treatment resources for the care of the children who need such services. Such a group of workers will bring pressure to bear so that the juvenile court, the probation office, and the detention home are kept free from politics. The crying need is for trained social workers and for socially minded juvenile court judges.



## CHAPTER XIV

### PRINCIPLES AND TRENDS IN DETENTION CARE

A composite picture of the care that detained children receive in widely varied types of communities in the United States has been presented. The 141 areas surveyed were both rural and urban in character, and they reflect wide variation in local conditions. Some communities have efficient police service, and a few have developed a modern crime-prevention bureau. Other communities have peace officers who do not recognize any different method of handling children than that of punishing persons who violate the laws. The courts vary from specialized juvenile courts, where the problems of the child are considered in the light of treatment, to the courts where the offender must be punished for his wrongdoing. It is small wonder that the care that the detained child receives varies from understanding protection to that of incarceration in adult jails.

The need of special provision for children who must be held pending disposition by the court was recognized at the time of the passage of the first juvenile-court act in Cook County, Illinois, in 1899. It was a part of the basic theory of the parental responsibility of the state that children should be detained entirely apart from the jail and from association with adult criminals. After more than thirty years of the juvenile court in the United States it should be possible to report in this study that jail detention of young children is a thing of the past. But this is far from true, as thousands of children, even young dependent children, are still confined in jails and lockups in most of the states. This is true even in cities which take pride in a well-equipped public detention home.

In reviewing briefly the results of this study, emphasis is placed on underlying principles and standards, and such recommendations as are made stress sound social practice rather than details of method. Only confusion could result from an attempt to prescribe detention methods or the type of detention home suitable for a community of

any specific size or geographical location. Too many factors bear indirectly as well as directly on detention to make any formula prepared at long range at all workable. All of the community forces for social welfare should be considered in order to determine whether or not a detention home is needed in the community. Any city or county wishing to improve its detention plan can make a comparative analysis of its present practice with the methods in use in other communities of like constitution and problems. Certain fundamental aspects of detention should be considered, such as what children should be detained, which is the best method of holding them, how detention relates to other community provision for the care of children and to other community forces for social welfare.

#### WHAT CHILDREN SHOULD BE DETAINED?

It has already been noted that most courts profess a general policy of detaining children only "when necessary." This is a subjective phrase capable of a wide range of meaning, and what is "necessary" in the estimation of one court may be uncalled for in the interpretation of another. Many children detained nominally for security of court appearance never have any hearing at all, indicating indecision or lack of investigation, or merely failure to register the true reason for detention. It is frankly the practice in some courts to hold all delinquent children pending disposition, which may mean actual court decision or some other solution informally arrived at.

Assuming that there is no virtue in detention itself and that reducing it to a minimum is desirable, for what children is detention really advisable? It must not be forgotten that it is a disturbing experience for a child to be taken from his familiar environment at a time of emotional tension, when conforming to a new routine and to group requirements may be difficult for him. The effect of detention on any child may be more far-reaching than is evident on the surface. Subjecting a child to a period of congregate detention is a risk. Association with children of all degrees of delinquency exposes the child to a contagion as real as that of infectious disease and stimulates delinquent interests if nothing more. It is sometimes assumed that a child's companions, at least, are protected by detaining the delinquent individual, but the opposite may be true. A boy returns to his

own group or forms new associations after detention, and if he has a kind of prestige among his schoolmates due to this contact with the forces of the law, the entire circle of his acquaintances may have an accelerated interest in delinquent activities.

How then can necessity for detention be determined? The first criterion is the seriousness of the offense committed, but this is only partially reliable. Children, usually older adolescents, who have committed offenses of such a nature that public safety is endangered by leaving them at large—homicide, for instance, or robbery with dangerous weapons—should be detained. These cases are relatively rare in any community, and even when such offenses occur there are undoubtedly children committing them who are not potentially dangerous to the community. Investigation will determine these differences, detention being advisable in the interim. Considering the offense as a gauge of detention, it may safely be assumed also that runaways from other localities should be held during investigation, because the child with the initiative to run away may make another break for freedom and perhaps get into serious trouble before plans can be made or an investigation completed.

Aside from these extreme cases, is the offense a safe guide, or is it a survival of criminal procedure? Seriousness of offense in larceny cases, for instance, is largely measured for adults by the value of property stolen. A child's appreciation of property which he has stolen or damaged is frequently undeveloped. The boy who takes a car for a joy ride does not always consider that he is breaking the law. In treating the child himself and his needs—the offender and not the offense—the motive should be considered. Frequently larceny is not an offense that indicates need for detention pending determination as to the treatment of the offender.

Security of appearance in court is the generally accepted basis for detention in most communities. There are, after all, very few parents who will not produce children in court at the appointed time if they are served with the regular legal notice. Family contact through investigation by the probation officer makes this response more certain, and lays the groundwork for co-operation between the parents and the court. All courts have the necessary machinery to compel the appearance of a child if the usual measures fail. Therefore, the

need for detention to assure the appearance of the child can be greatly exaggerated.

It must be admitted also that the convenience of court officials often masquerades under this assumption of detention for security. It may be less trouble for a busy probation officer to detain a child than to release him and at once establish contact with the family. When the family and the boy are both markedly unco-operative at the beginning of their contact with the court, it may be advisable to place a child in the detention home in order to impress all of them with the seriousness of the situation.

Conditions in a child's home may be the determining factor in decision as to detention. Some children should be removed immediately from a dangerous or degrading environment where abuse or cruelty prevail, or where menacing moral conditions exist which may be the immediate cause of the delinquency itself. It is probably safer in a case of this sort to remove the child at once, though investigation may show that conditions were not as reported. However, the child may suffer less trauma from remaining in a familiar environment for a day or two while investigation is being made than he would suffer from transfer to a strange environment pending decision as to his future.

Detention of children as witnesses in criminal cases is sometimes called for but this necessity may also be overstressed. A child can often be safely left in his own home if that home provides proper protection. It is admittedly advisable in some cases to place the child in detention as a measure of security against attempts to tamper with the witness and change the evidence. Girls are more often detained as witnesses than boys because of the frequency of sex offenses against girls.

Detention may be determined by reasons not connected with the offense or with security of appearance. Medical examination and treatment, psychological diagnosis and study, and simple "observation" of behavior are offered as other reasons for detention. Medical examination may be a necessary part of the investigation of a child's case and detention may be the best way to assure this. But, generally speaking, this can be given without detention, by the use of clinical facilities which are available in most cities. While a child is under the



care of the court, health adjustment is often necessary. It may be more convenient for the probation officer or other person in charge of the case to hold the child in detention for this purpose, but it is generally better to use clinics and keep him at home. Detention is usually unnecessary for venereal treatments. Hospital care, when called for, need not involve detention. Corrective work such as tonsillectomies and dental care can usually be managed without detention and the child is less disturbed in the process. There are, however, occasional instances of parental indifference or negligence where detention is advisable to make sure that necessary treatment is received.

Psychiatric clinics are sometimes part of the detention home itself, as in Los Angeles where skilled diagnosis is the real objective of detention and other motives are secondary. There are undoubtedly advantages in this arrangement where the detention home becomes a clinical center, and probably more children can be studied in such a set-up, but there is also the likelihood of increasing the number of detained children beyond what is really necessary and also of prolonging the detention period. Furthermore, it may well be that a child can be better studied from a psychological standpoint in his natural environment. When "observation" is skilled, there is some gain in the detention period, but when it is merely the personal reaction of an unskilled attendant, its value is practically nil. In general, cases to be detained for medical and psychiatric study should be carefully selected.

Detention of dependent and neglected children should be determined by the child's family situation. If the home has broken down, or is so unsatisfactory that the child will probably be removed by court action, then detention during the process of adjustment may be justified.

Detention of the dependent child is a rather complex question. It varies with the jurisdiction as well as the policies of the juvenile court. In many communities children whose only difficulty is dependency or lack of support are brought into the juvenile court and supervised by the probation staff even when other agencies in the community are better adapted to care for them. The general trend, however, is toward specialization by the juvenile court in the field of serious delinquency, leaving problems of dependency, neglect, and



minor delinquency to private or public agencies equipped to handle these children without court action.

Detention in cases dealt with by agencies other than the court becomes the responsibility of the agency as part of its plan for the child. It need not necessarily be official in character, as informal arrangements can often be made, placing the child with relatives, for example, until decision is made by the court. It is sometimes possible to combine boarding-home detention with a try-out period for prolonged foster-care, thus saving some shifting about and insecurity, which are upsetting to any child.

The dependent child in a detention home which is also used for delinquents complicates administration, because of the need for segregation of the delinquent from the dependent, which frequently results in the complete isolation of some of the children. In many homes the children classed as delinquents are kept in detention rooms, so that the dependent children may have freedom without the possibility of contamination, moral as well as physical. However, it has already been pointed out that a child classified as dependent or neglected in admission status may really be delinquent in ideas and behavior, and he may be a personality problem more serious than the child admitted for some specific delinquent act. The only safe method of preventing exchange of experiences is a full program of activities, adequately supervised by competent workers, and individual sleeping quarters for the children who may be inclined to spread unwholesome experiences.

Detention should not be a routine procedure, but a selective process, where the personality of the child and all of the factors entering into the problem are considered. It should never be casual, never merely for the convenience of adults seeking an accessible "parking place" for a child. Except for emergencies, it should be the careful decision of a competent case-worker, taking into account the possible effect of detention on the particular child. In short, the principles underlying case-work should apply to the detention process.

#### WHERE SHOULD CHILDREN BE DETAINED?

Eight major types of detention provision have been presented in this study. In reviewing the various places of detention of children,

consideration will be given first to the places where children should not be detained. There is probably little difference of opinion in regard to the undesirability of jail experience for children. Holding children in jail is, of course, indefensible as a social practice. But it is accepted as necessary, particularly when the jurisdiction of the juvenile court extends to the eighteen-year limit, to have a place providing absolutely secure detention for a limited group—a group which can be kept to a minimum by constant watchfulness. The one advantage of the jail is this security. Can it be assured elsewhere, and without the evil accompaniments of the jail?

Even where detention homes make nominal provision for this group with special isolation rooms fortified against escape, very often the unruly, incorrigible, or unmanageable older boy is either not received in the home at all or transferred to the jail by the superintendent, who does not want to be bothered with this type of problem. The obvious answer in these cases is a different point of view on the part of the executives in charge, a new concept of their responsibility, a changed approach to disciplinary treatment of such children.

In localities where private boarding-homes are used, or other places of detention where such maximum security is impractical, special rooms may be fitted up in some public building other than the jail or the courthouse, rooms not at all of the jail type, but with the necessary protection against escape. These rooms may be variously located, depending on what space is available, but they should be in charge of a qualified person and should provide cleanliness, physical comfort, medical care, and some occupation and exercise for the children held there. Such a plan as this can be worked out by any community at no great expense.

Holding children in police stations is undesirable and usually avoidable, but it can hardly be eliminated entirely in practice. It can be reduced to negligible proportions by co-operation between the police and the court, and the constant emphasis of both agencies on other ways of taking care of children immediately following arrest. When it becomes a practical necessity to question children at a station or to hold them briefly pending transfer to the detention home, this should be done privately in an inner office or some place where

the child is not under observation himself, nor in contact with adult offenders and all the objectionable features of the place.

County or city almshouses, poor farms, or infirmaries, as they are sometimes designated, are manifestly inappropriate places for children, particularly where segregation from adult inmates is impossible. In rural areas where facilities are limited, the county farm may be the best place for temporary emergency care of infants, but this practice should be limited to babies and not extended to children old enough to be aware of their surroundings or to suffer from associations which may be distinctly harmful. However, it should be possible to place these children temporarily in good boarding-homes, pending decision as to their disposition. For more than fifty years good child welfare principles have tabooed the almshouse as a place in which to keep children. It should not be a part of the detention policy of any juvenile court today to allow any children to be placed in the almshouse or county infirmary.

The use of hospitals for detention of well children hardly needs comment. Putting healthy children to bed for safekeeping borders on the absurd, but it has its serious side. Detention of children who need medical care should be determined in the individual case on medical advice, taking into consideration the co-operation of the home and the clinical facilities offered outside of the hospital. In many of these cases a hospital period is hardly to be termed detention, though it may serve such a purpose.

Institutions, both public and private, for long-time care of children are, as this study shows, frequently used for detention. In many of these institutions children to be held for the court are accepted reluctantly, as their care does not fit in easily with the planned program for the other children. This difficulty is sometimes met by simply cutting off the detained children from any share in the activities of the group as a whole, often by keeping them virtually prisoners. In some instances detention in these homes amounts to the cruelty of solitary confinement. At best, where the standards of the agency are high, and this is not always the case, it is an unsatisfactory arrangement to mix the two groups of committed and detained children. In institutions for delinquents, the effect on the detained child may be to aggravate his problems. On the other hand, an institution de-

signed only for the care of dependents runs the risk of spreading delinquent ideas through its own group, if detained problem children mingle freely with the rest.

Private children's shelters which concentrate on the detained group are found only in New York, where the shelters of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children specialize on this type of care. A large proportion of the children in these shelters are held for court action, hence they are closely related to the public detention homes in general function and services. The standards of the agency determine the program and practices within the institution, and these vary widely.

The chief difficulty in the use of private institutions for children including the shelters for temporary care, is that the juvenile court has no voice in the management of the institution and no control over the policies under which detained children are governed. Even though co-operation may be excellent between the court and the agency, the court with no supervisory relationship is unable to make detention an integral part of its own procedure, subject to such modification and improvement as the development of the court permits. From a financial angle also, this arrangement is often unsatisfactory, as the expense to the community may be excessively high. Furthermore, the practice of public subsidy to private agencies is not desirable.

#### BOARDING-HOMES

There remain to be considered in this brief summary two most important methods of detention—the public congregate home and the private boarding-home. The present trend in social work toward substitution of foster-home care for institutional treatment is gaining ground in detention practice also. The decline in the use of group methods of handling children is an outgrowth of the growing appreciation of children's needs as individuals. So far as detention is concerned, this is not a controversial issue of public detention home versus boarding-home. Nor can any sweeping recommendations be made in favor of one or the other method, although in principle individual home care is psychologically sounder than group treatment even for a brief period. Some advantages and some difficulties encountered in the use of boarding homes for detention have been dis-



cussed in the body of this report. A juvenile court contemplating introducing this method of detention should include in its considerations the local facilities offered. A change to a boarding-home plan is likely to fail if not carried out under competent direction. As has been noted, few courts are staffed with workers experienced in the field of selection and supervision of boarding-homes, and many communities have no children's agencies doing work of high standard.

A co-operative plan between the juvenile court and a children's agency, where a competent one exists, is preferable to having the court take on a new function. Most juvenile courts are struggling to maintain a staff adequate for the general case-work program demanded and would not be justified in attempting to extend their activities in this specialized field. Where such a co-operative program between the two agencies is in effect, it goes considerably beyond detention, and includes in a good many courts the treatment of children by foster-home placement through the agency rather than directly by the court. This is notably true with dependents, and is a growing practice with delinquents.

In smaller communities where few children are detained, and those where there is no children's organization to assume the function of detention, it may be practical for the court to try out some homes on this plan before committing itself to building or buying a detention home. The suggestions which can be offered in this situation are necessarily general. The principles of selection of homes for this purpose are not essentially different from those governing the choice of foster-homes for longer periods of care. They include the following:

1. The economic level of the family should be such that the child will not be regarded chiefly as a source of income. Very simple homes can be used, but they must not be restricted financially so that the child may be deprived of essentials.
2. The general standard of family living must, of course, be high. Good health, nourishing food, cleanliness, and a wholesome routine of living are essential.
3. The cultural level of the family should be considered in placement of the individual child, so that overplacement is not effected. Children who are accustomed to tenement conditions are frequently not able to adjust in middle-class or wealthy homes. Race and religion should be considered in placement of children.
4. The home must be accessible to the court and to other social resources such as medical and psychiatric clinics. A home too remote from these facilities



creates problems involving loss of time, difficulties of transportation, and sometimes of refusal to use the home by the police or social workers.

5. The number of children to be detained in any home must be limited by the extent to which comfortable provision can be made. Segregation of types and sexes can be secured by the use of different homes for these various groups. Critical consideration must be given to the male members of the household in selecting homes for girls.
6. The general atmosphere of the home must be harmonious and pleasant, free from tension or discord, and the foster-parents must be emotionally well balanced. All members of the family must sanction the use of the home for the children, otherwise the position of the child will be strained.
7. The most important single factor in selecting a private family home for detention is undoubtedly the personality of the foster-mother. Every child placed in her care is a challenge. She must have a broad and sympathetic understanding of children and of some of their special problems of conduct. An objective attitude of mind free from prejudice, emotional limitations, and moral reactions to delinquent acts is particularly necessary. The foster-mother who is shocked by any type of behavior in a child is unsuited to deal with delinquents even during a brief detention period.

One popular argument for the boarding-home plan is that of its economy. Detention in boarding-homes is on a daily or weekly rate without the addition of institution overhead, which is constant even though there may be no children in the home. Subsidizing private homes is not expensive and assures a sense of security for both the court and the home. Often the expense of detention in a public congregate home, figured on the basis of maintenance only, without the items of original investment, interest, repairs, and other expenses, exceeds the cost of boarding a child. This difference of expense, while important to the taxpayer, however, is secondary in interest to the welfare of the child. But when boarding care is less expensive and at the same time provides better care, the argument is an impressive one.

#### THE PUBLIC DETENTION HOME

The public congregate home clearly has advantages over the use of children's institutions, public or private, maintained by agencies other than the court. Direction of policies by the court is made possible, and the public detention home permits of greater flexibility than even the most cordial co-operation with another institution. There is also the advantage of closer connection between the proba-

tion staff and that of the home when both are part of the court. There is less chance of a division of responsibility, with the attendant possibility of delay and confusion of plans. Financial direction by the court, or at least participation in budgeting and business management, is more satisfactory than arrangements made through other organizations.

*The physical plant.*—It is beyond the scope of this report to make specific recommendations as to physical plants, building plans, or housing. Any sound advice on this point should be made only on the basis of an individual community study. There is no one type of housing which is of itself preferable. A building suitable to the needs of one court might be quite unsatisfactory to another, aside from the mere matter of size. Recognized standards of child care should never be violated, and these form the only safe general guide. An understanding of the community to be served is a prerequisite to constructive suggestions as to what is most practical within these standards.

The combination building, housing the juvenile court and the detention home, has worked well in a number of places, and has manifest advantages of convenience for staff workers, and of simplicity and economy of administration. The complete physical separation of the juvenile court from the courthouse with its criminal associations is, of course, a distinct advantage, and properly emphasizes to the public the non-criminal aspects of the juvenile court and its function as a social agency. The inherent weakness of this arrangement is its very convenience, as the accessibility of detention quarters tends to increase their use needlessly. A comparison of two cities of similar size and general composition was noted in the body of this report, the one with the combined plant having ten times as many children detained as the other where an old residence of limited capacity on the outskirts of town was used.

A city contemplating a change in its detention methods should weigh the relative advantages of this court-detention-home unit with other plans. The combination of psychiatric clinic and detention home is another possibility, but one which should be approached very cautiously not alone because of the probable expense but because with the establishment of any institution of this sort so many other problems and potential uses of the home are involved. If this

plan is well directed, and if the results of individual study become an integral part of the court or agency plan for the child, this combination may be a very valuable community asset. If the court is unable to profit by the studies made, then there is great waste, financially and socially. A small residence type of detention home should also be considered by a community contemplating a new detention procedure. This may be practical in some places and inexpensive.

No building project should be entered into without the most careful consideration and expert advice. Institutions of any type by their very existence invite use to capacity. Accessibility, convenience, inadequate regard for public expense which is more or less concealed in an institution, the natural assumption that the place provided should be used—all these things tend to obscure the deeper needs of the detained child himself. There is a spontaneous enthusiasm for new public buildings and equipment, a kind of civic pride in institutions, which is natural but may be menacing to good social practice. Any institution in even its physical aspects and limitations tends to determine and to crystallize procedure. Daily accommodation to defects in building and equipment merges very easily into resigned acceptance of a routine which may be really harmful to the children involved.

It is particularly difficult to adapt an established physical plant to changing concepts in social work. The institutional field is clogged with buildings which have outworn their usefulness and cannot be adapted to present-day ideas although economy may continue their use. More than one of the institutions now in use for detention is over one hundred years old, two such homes dating back to the eighteenth century, testimony to the permanence of brick and mortar, and the natural reluctance of public authorities to abandon old buildings of this type. No institution stays up to date long in these days of accelerated changes in social work, even though at the moment of completion it seemed to be the final word in modernity. Realization of this should sharpen the critical attitude of any group contemplating erection of an institution for detention purposes.

The general suggestion not to overbuild seems, therefore, a common-sense precaution, although it is contrary to the usual prescription to build generously and allow for growth. Because they are at

hand, empty beds may be filled with those for whom they are not needed or were never intended in the first place. Adherence to the principle that detention should be kept to a minimum suggests that a progressive policy would provide only for immediate needs with as narrow a margin as possible to cover emergencies. This recommendation should not be taken too literally, however, as plans for any new building should be adapted to meet the community program for children as a whole.

*Personnel.*—The staff of the detention home, or of any institution used for detention, is of greater importance than the type of building, the furnishings and equipment, or any physical factor. Control of staff appointments by the court is desirable in principle, but in practice it reflects the standards of the court and hence may result in poor selections. The superintendent's position is of primary importance as his interpretation of detention needs will be reflected in the staff. Training in social work is the most valuable preparation of the executive. Personality requirements, besides the more obvious ones which do not need enumeration, should include ability to maintain an objective unemotional attitude toward delinquent conduct.

Selection of staff workers, it goes without saying, should be free from politics or personal influence of any kind. This can be assured in some places through civil service, or selection on the basis of competitive examination. Appreciation of the demands of the job on the part of the appointing officials is immensely important. Other social agencies besides the court can often help to develop such understanding.

A corollary to the selection of a competent staff is the payment of salaries adequate to attract and hold people of high caliber. No salary range can be specifically recommended here because of differences in local salary scales in social work, and other complicating considerations. But a comparative standard can be suggested. The head of a city detention home should have the same salary rating as the high-school principals. His staff should be paid what the grade teachers are receiving. These standards suggest a safe minimum guide.

*Program and services.*—If detention is really kept to a minimum as to length of time and reduction of the number detained, then the



program and services of the detention home become less exacting. If a child is to be held only a few days, the school program, for example, need not strain to follow closely the current work from which he has been taken. Such an absence is not more significant in his education as a whole than the inevitable short absences for illness or other reasons which occur in every school life. The project method lends itself to detention-home requirements. A simplified, informal, and flexible school program is sufficient to fill the interval with constructive occupation—a plan which calls, however, for exceptional and specialized ability in the teacher. Care must be used, however, to insure that all children in the home are included in the educational program. In many homes certain children such as delinquents were found to be excluded from participation in the school and other activities.

Similarly, all the other services of the home become simplified if detention is short. Recreation without elaborate playground equipment, if supervised—again the emphasis is on the personnel rather than the equipment—will not pall on a child in a day or two. Simple healthful exercise in a play spirit gives some opportunity for group co-operation and may well take the place of regular programs under trained playground direction so valuable in institutions for long-time care of children.

Medical service also becomes simpler if detention is short. Physical examinations and treatment may be arranged outside, reducing the medical program in the institution to fundamentals of protection and emergency care. Corrective work when done outside obviates the necessity of equipping and maintaining a hospital room in the detention home.

If discipline can be considered as a detention-home "service," it may be observed here that this, too, is made simpler and easier when the group is small and the duration of stay for each child is short. Disciplinary problems multiply when children are restrained for long periods since institutional life is not normal for any child. Rebellion is a natural symptom of protest. But control of a small group by sympathetic and understanding direction is relatively easy, especially if the time can be filled with work and recreation providing for physical activity.

Such simplification of program as has been suggested in no way



means a lowering of standards—far from it. The highest qualifications in personnel are demanded to carry out such activities. But there is a saving in expense and in energy which might be profitably directed toward other functions of the court, particularly an adequate staff for more intensive supervision of the child after the episode of detention.

#### COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Detention, while primarily a function of the juvenile court, relates to all social work. The formulation of policies rests chiefly with the court, but involves such other agencies as the police, the school, children's organizations, and family welfare societies. State supervision of public detention homes or other institutions used for detention is highly desirable, though as yet practically nonexistent. Raising and maintaining state-wide standards in any field of child care is facilitated by a central unifying system of oversight. This may be achieved in detention practice through a state probation department in which the social functions of the juvenile court come within the province of a probation bureau, or through a department of public or child welfare which has authority to inspect and supervise institutions for children throughout the state. Responsibility for the care of children, even for brief temporary periods of detention, extends, indeed, beyond the field of social work, and is shared by the community as a whole. If boys and girls are being held in jail, or other harmful and socially undesirable methods are in effect, then any citizen concerned over the welfare of children has an obligation to act.

It is hoped that this critical nation-wide study may serve as a guide to any group wishing to remedy defects in local practice. It should be emphasized again that the total situation should be studied in any city, as detention is never an isolated problem. Critical consideration of what the community has to offer must precede formulation of a workable plan. The court can contribute most if it is unsparing in self-criticism. What to eliminate in present practice, what to retain, what to modify, should all concern an investigating committee. Uniformity in detention methods is neither possible nor desirable, but standards of good social practice may be applied anywhere. The goal of any effort to improve detention should be to make this critical episode in the life of the child profitable in the larger plan for his social adjustment.



